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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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### Law Regulating Party, Public Organization Activities Urged

90UN1840A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 19, 12-18 May 90 p 3

[Article by V. Monisov, division chief, superphosphate plant, Dzhabul: "We Need a Law on Parties"]

[Text] I cannot agree with the assertion of N. Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee administrator, to the effect that the CPSU is not being allocated a state subsidy (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 13).

Nowadays the subsidy is "masked" because, of course, enterprises and organizations are obliged to grant party committees the free-gratis use of rooms, equipment, and property, as well as to pay out of their own funds for heating, lighting, water-supply, maintaining, guarding, and clearing the rooms, along with radio-relay service. They must also turn over transportation and communications facilities for gratis use. Furthermore, the services of the typing pool, the copying-and-duplicating unit, mail services, and the services of the director's secretarial unit all turn out to be gratis.

Funds of enterprises are likewise drawn upon in order to obtain office items, organizational equipment, and sociopolitical literature; a subscription is taken out for a set of periodical publications, poster-type and other such items, including motion pictures and slides.

All expenditures on visual, graphic-type propaganda, as ordered by the party organizations, are also borne by the funds of the collectives. The enterprise grants free time on the plant radio and bears the expenses for publishing a large-circulation newspaper (where such exist, naturally).

Collectives suffer losses from the continuing diversion of non-freed-up activists into working time for participating in various types of meetings, sessions, and conferences. Carrying out party work during one's regular work time, for the most part, is not possible and is not carried out; this includes work done in connection with party meetings.

According to the most conservative calculations, our plant, which has 360 communists, annually spend about 10,000 rubles on the above-mentioned items, i.e., an average of 28 rubles per communist. If we take our party organization as an average one statistically speaking, which seems permissible, then with 18 million communists in the country the state subsidy exceeds 500 million rubles.

Unfortunately, a subsidy of approximately this same level is granted to the Komsomol organizations, people's control committees (groups), trade unions, and other public organizations.

What awaits the labor collectives under a multi-party system and with the growth of sociopolitical organizations and societies?

These are facts rather than conjectures.

We need to adopt a law on parties, sociopolitical and volunteer organizations (societies or clubs). Their status must be precisely defined and provisions made for maintaining them exclusively by means of dues or voluntary contributions by the population, while collective membership must be done away with. This must be done prior to adopting the CPSU Charter and the charters of other activities.

### Economic Programs of Political Groups Compared to CPSU Platform

904A0376A Moscow EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No 21, May 90 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Zobov, Moscow: "'Forgotten' Economy?"]

[Text] Probably, few people are surprised by the diversity of the platforms, positions, and programs, which have appeared in the course of discussing the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee. Possibly, along with this basic document they will be discussed at the 28th party congress. The pregress debate has revealed different views concerning the party and its role in the development of society. No matter what critics of the CPSU may say, a rapid process of democratization and, along with it, of choice by every party member of his position is going on in it.

It is characteristic that different documents reflecting certain trends in the party assign the central place to attempts to answer the following questions: "Where are the roots of the crisis and who is to blame for it?" and "what should the party be like?". At the same time, as a rule, the mechanism of development of intraparty democracy and of the procedure of electing leading party bodies is described quite in detail and a merciless war against any privileges and benefits is declared.

There is no denying that these are important problems, without the solution of which it will hardly be possible to restore the authority of the party. However, another thing is also indisputable: If the party in its intellectual and political search "forgets" about the development of the socioeconomic platform and about the choice of the direction and rates of transformation of the economy, it forgets the vitally important interests of millions of people. Such a party as a mass political organization is doomed to defeat. What increment in terms of the development of the socioeconomic CPSU program for the very near future did the documents alternative to the draft platform of the Central Committee give?

We will state right away: "The Democratic Platform" took the stand of complete silence about socioeconomic problems, as though this was the task of other parties, not of the CPSU. It is not that it does not have such a section. It does not even have a hint or even a general exposition of the directions in the country's economic development. Strange as it seems, but, putting forward



the idea of transforming the CPSU into a parliamentary party, the authors of the "Democratic Platform" were unable (and, perhaps, consciously did not want) to formulate a package of socioeconomic initiatives, which the "parliamentary" CPSU would defend in bodies of state power. However, parties all over the world do not fight for participation in parliamentary debates, or for some other procedure of distribution of party dues! They fight for deputy mandates and for the right to participate in the formation of a government that would defend a fully specific program of actions.

Moreover, parties are established not only for holding elections of their structures or establishing fractions—ultimately, these are secondary matters—and they lose the meaning without the answer to the main question: Whose interests does a specific party defend and by what means and with the help of what economic and social policy?

For example, now it would be interesting to know the position of the "Democratic Platform" on the possible social price of the new spiral in economic reform, the attitude toward mass unemployment, inflation, and the right to labor, specific ways of "degovernmentalizing" the economy, and other acute problems, which disturb everyone. Alas, we do not find answers in it. But without them the "Democratic Platform," judging by the strictest requirements, can hardly be alternative to other pre-congress documents, including the draft of the CPSU Central Committee criticized by its authors.

This cannot be said about the draft of the "Marxist Platform in the CPSU." Its economic credo is set forth quite clearly: transformation of state property into public property, development of the self-administration system from top to bottom, and preservation of market relations only as a means of transition to socialist forms of production and establishment of a public-state regulation system. Nor are workers' social protection and employment guarantees forgotten. All this would be splendid if the platform had fully taken into account the real and, in many respects, dramatic situation existing in society. Without this many, even very attractive, social and economic guidelines at times become so pretentious that they are of interest for abstract pseudo-scientific debates alone.

Here is an example: "The movement toward socialism is a process of workers' conscious historical creativity, which transforms public property into a means of realization of man's creative abilities and liberation of labor from all forms of exploitation..." The "Marxist Platform" charts specific paths of transition to such an economy, but to a significant extent they are of the nature of appeals and declarations.

Some of the program theses and, especially, their comparison cannot fail to arouse questions. For example, according to the authors, the transformation of the management system includes decentralization of rights, responsibility, and resources at all management levels

and with all forms of property. Decentralization of rights and responsibility is both possible and necessary. However, what should be done with resources? What do the authors mean by their "decentralization"? And how to coordinate this with the next task in the draft platform: "To realize... a drastic redistribution of all resources in favor of sectors producing consumer goods..." Is it possible to link decentralization of resources and abrupt structural changes in the country's economy?

Next, the authors of the "Marxist Platform" propose a transition to a system of a territorial and nondepartmental guaranteed distribution of the most vitally necessary goods, which is made according to uniform principles, intensification of control over prices, and safeguarding of the right "to an adequate standard of living in accordance with the consumption norms necessary for a normal reproduction and the development of personality." As we see, the tasks are very diverse if they are compared with the policy of "decentralization." Moreover, they are formulated with insufficient clarity. For example, what is a "guaranteed distribution"? Abolition of trade and the introduction of a rationing system, or something else? In general, one would like to know who will "ensure" all this and how.

From the context of the document it follows that councils of labor collectives, territorial public self-administration committees, and consumer societies, to which, jointly with soviets, it is proposed to transfer absolute power, should accomplish all these tasks. However, the real interests of the enumerated bodies do not always coincide and at times even oppose each other. For example, it is clear that consumer societies will always come out for a reduction in prices. But what will councils of labor collectives answer to this? Practice shows that precisely councils of labor collectives actively operate in a directly opposite direction. This also applies to the solution of problems of ecology, development of the social infrastructure, and so forth. However, without the unity of interests of those entrusted with the solution of the major problems discussed in the platform the proposed system will hardly be viable.

Nevertheless, it should be admitted: The "Marxist Platform" portrays quite an interesting and, in many respects, new image of socialism and its socioeconomic relations. Its authors try to formulate the party's new ideological baggage and they should be given credit for this. However, as it seems, the platform is oriented primarily toward the long-term period. It does not have the chief thing for today: How to get the country out of the most severe economic crisis, how to overcome the growing unbalance on the consumer market, and how to activate economic incentives for labor.

Unfortunately, nor was it possible to avoid pretentiousness in the economic section of the Political Position of the Moscow conference of secretaries of primary party organizations, whose draft was published in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA on 30 March. Reflecting the views of almost 100 secretaries of the capital's major

party organizations and of the "horizontal" party structure, which, in fact, is already active, this document repeats a great deal and reproduces the customary approaches: equality of forms of property, elimination of restrictions in the development of the agrarian sector, and implementation of credit and financial reform.

Today all these and some other provisions can be encountered in the programs of many parties and movements, right up to the Christian Democratic. Such a coincidence, on the one hand, could be considered a sign that a consensus on key economic problems "is ripening" in society. On the other hand, however, is it not time to move forward in a meaningful way and to discuss specific tasks and, if you wish, details? After all, the same credit and financial reform can be carried out from opposite positions and in the interest of various social groups.

This also applies to the "transition to a regulated market of goods, finances, and resources," for which the Political Position comes out. It is remarkable that, along with the recognition of the market, it is proposed to carry out "reform in public economic planning." Again, however, not a word about the essence and mechanism of this reform and about how a "regulated market" and "economic planning" will interact.

If the pregress documents are evaluated according to what place they assign to economic problems, such an active author as the Leningrad Organizing Committee for the Preparation of the Constituent Congress of the Russian Communist Party, which forms part of the CPSU, should be considered the leader. Possibly, the fact that the committee prepared program documents later than many others, when the growing attention of public opinion to the fates of our economy made itself felt clearly, played a part here.

The theses of the Leningrad Organizing Committee single out overcoming the crisis in the economy and ensuring its socialist development as the party's "main political task." One could agree with such a formulation of the problem. However, how is the crisis to be overcome?

First of all, by means of the already well-known approaches. They include monetary reform, progressive tax on inheritance, termination of an arbitrary reduction in rates, equalization of economic conditions of activity of cooperatives and state enterprises, and so forth.

Yes, the realization of such proposals, perhaps, will make it possible to eliminate or at least to slow down the social stratification of society and to strike at unearned income. However, the problem is much broader and more complex. Toughening control over income and wages in itself cannot lead to a rise in the rates of economic growth, an elimination of structural disproportions, and a sharp increase in the output of consumer goods. Is it possible to attain all this without developing the market? And the chief thing: How, nevertheless, to get out of the economic crisis? Unfortunately, all these

questions remain in the background. On the other hand, distribution, not increase in production efficiency, are in the foreground.

Other guidelines also appeared at the Organizing Congress in Leningrad. Obviously, taking into consideration the growing anxiety in society owing to the proposed increase in prices in connection with the transition to the market, an attempt was made to formulate alternative proposals. Their essence lies in creating an antiexpenditure economic mechanism, in which a reduction, not increase, in prices is "built in." It is asserted that such a model of management exists. When it is utilized, an increase in wages depends precisely on a reduction in the prices of products.

It must be admitted that, externally, everything looks quite simple. However, the following question arises: With such a model how to ensure the mastering of new or better products, which require additional expenditures? The production of "as many cheaper products as possible" is to be ensured not through the development of competition and market relations and a fight against monopolism in the economic sphere, but through a new combination of cost-accounting indicators of enterprise activity.

In my opinion, the introduction of such a cost-accounting model means none other than a return to an all-encompassing centralized system of directive planning and management. Coming out in defense of the interests of labor collectives, it would not be bad for the authors of these documents to clarify the opinion of the collectives themselves concerning such a management model, especially as it is planned to assign very extensive rights to them, right up to the role of the "holder of Soviet power" or the right to "hire the administration with payment for its services depending on the collective's wages..."

At the time when the country's future and the success of perestroika are largely determined by the result of economic reform ever newer drafts are put forward in the CPSU, but so far the party does not have a collectively developed position on these problems. Intraparty problems dominate in the developed initiating drafts, but most of them assign a secondary role to the economy. Criticizing the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee, it must be admitted in all fairness that the leaders of other platforms were unable to develop a more specific and realistic approach in the area of the economy.

Everything will be determined at the congress. Of course, it must not be allowed to turn into an all-Union party and economic aktiv. However, even during the period of preparation for it it is hardly justified to reduce all problems to a clarification of the relations inside the party as along "vertical" and "horizontal" lines. We must not withdraw from the determination of priorities in economic policy and specific ways of solving social problems.

**'Equality' Deputies Support Gorbachev**

90UN2018A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
16 May 90 p 1

["Statement of 'Equality' Faction of Latvian SSR  
Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The deputy faction supports the edict of the USSR president of 14 May 1990 concerned the illegal adoption by the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on 4 May 1990 of the declaration "Restoration of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia."

As we have already stated, the question of replacement of the state system in the Latvian SSR and a change in its foreign and domestic political status should, as a most important question of the republic's state life, be decided, in accordance with Article 5 of the Latvian SSR Constitution, by way of a referendum (public ballot).

We propose that the republic Supreme Soviet study the question of cancellation of the declaration adopted on 4 May 1990 prior to a referendum on Latvia's official status. Unless this is done, the republic will find itself at a political and economic impasse. Full responsibility for this outcome will be borne by the Latvian People's Front faction of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and its supporters.

We appeal to all people's deputies of the Latvian SSR with the insistent demand that they cease to adopt laws and decrees contrary to the USSR Constitution and the Latvian SSR Constitution. We call on state, law enforcement, and economic authorities to be guided in their activity only by the Constitution of the Latvian SSR and legislative enactments which are not in contradiction to it.

We request that our statement be considered an official document of session.

15 May 1990.

**Maj Gen Surkov Reviews Recent Transcaucasus Unrest Events**

90US0967B Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
13 Apr 90 p 4

[Interview with Maj Gen M. S. Surkov, chief of the Political Department of the Yerevan Garrison, USSR people's deputy, by Aram Kalantar, correspondent of *KOMMUNIST*: "It Is Time for Our Alarms"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Mikhail Semenovitch, before me is the information "In the ArSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs", in which it is stated that "during 28-30 March of this year sub-units of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, attached to the Azerbaijan SSR, carried out operations with respect to checking motor transport and persons for the purpose of the exposure of weapons and explosives in the territory of Shamshadinskiy, Idzhevanskiy, and Noyemberyanskiy rayons. As a result of the operations that were carried out, 24 inhabitants of the Armenian SSR were arrested and taken to the Kazakhskiy GROVD [not further identified]. Through measures that were taken, 8 of them were returned to the Armenian SSR. The leadership, the procuracy, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic are taking all measures for the return of the arrested, as well as the transfer of the conduct of the criminal proceedings to the procuracy of the USSR and the Armenian SSR." What is your attitude to what has happened? Do you find the actions of the sub-units of the internal troops to be illegal? You agree that one can call them such, you know several lines of this official report suggest serious reflections and raise a whole series of questions. For example, by what right do the troops, which were attached to the Azerbaijan SSR, suddenly turn out to be in the territory of Armenia, carry out some dubious operations, and as a result carry off 24 people to a neighboring republic? Do these facts not indicate lawlessness, underscored by a disrespectful attitude to the people of Armenia?

[Answer] We are today extremely disturbed by the fact that some mass media attempt to put all the blame for what has happened on the Soviet Army. Many times I have had to explain that our troops do not carry out any measures that are directed against the Armenian people. Our only task is to perform our service, to protect the state. But for some reason, people constantly confuse us with the internal troops and all the time try to accuse us of something.

Literally a day or two ago, I sent three telegrams addressed to the USSR Procurator General Sukharev, to the minister of internal affairs, and to Baku—to the chairman of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet, with the request to hand over at once, first of all, the body of the killed Oganessian Araik, which is now in Kazakha, to which, unfortunately, counter-demands were advanced by the Azerbaijanian side to hand over the Azerbaijanis who, allegedly, are here, and, secondly, to hand over all the arrested young people of Armenian nationality, who are

now in Azerbaijan, to the jurisdiction of the procuracy of the union. Such a solution of the question was accepted by Sukharev, and one can already speak of it officially since I have received the official notification from the deputy procurator general, I. Abramov.

You assert that these people were seized in the territory of Armenia. . . .

[Question] I am basing myself on the official report.

[Answer] Well, first of all, they all were armed, they were arrested by representatives of the internal troops, who have been granted that right. Why were they taken there? Because, as I know from the words of the USSR Deputy Procurator General Abramov, everything supposedly took place in the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR. According to statements of representatives of the public of Armenia, the affair took place in our territory. I think unequivocally that today, in order not to heat up the situation, it was most expedient to send them to the USSR Procuracy. Which, by the way, is what was in fact done.

[Question] Please, if it is possible, nevertheless express your attitude more concretely.

[Answer] My attitude is the following: Today we ask those who have weapons or any sort of ammunition to hand them over and to entrust defense and security to those who have been authorized to take care of this, i. e., to the internal troops, the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and, where necessary, the Soviet Army. Any finding of even a single armed individual from one or the other side calls forth a new charging of the situation. I can now connect you with the Gorisskiy Rayon, where our comrades are, and they will tell you how yesterday groups of representatives of self-defense detachments, having caught sight of military equipment patrolling there, thought that they were being attacked by the Soviet Army. The Azerbaijanis think that the Soviet Army which is located in the territory of Armenia will fight against them. There is the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 5 March, give us the opportunity to implement it. Check, today it is necessary to sit behind the negotiation table, to develop mechanisms of mutual trust. The military have already grown tired of organizing negotiations. You know, this is not our function.

Moreover, today weapons frequently fall into the hands of criminal elements, and sooner or later these weapons are used. I understand, people are impelled by one single idea—to solve the Karabakh problem. It must be solved. But to solve it in the manner in which this is being done today is inadmissible. Here General Pishchev returned from Dzghulfa. Well, the railway operated, operated for the benefit of the Armenian people. I do not know who blew it up, but I know that this happened in the territory of Megri. I know that yesterday engineers from Dzghulfa declared to comrade Pishchev that about six of their staff people died during this year, and today they demand guarantees, otherwise, they say, the trains will not go.

Well, as a matter of fact, why is it impossible to guarantee the security of people? You know, we are interested in this. All of us.

[Question] Nevertheless, they blew up a section of the railway in the Megri region. In general, to the people, which is experiencing the blockade and has become accustomed to it, it makes no difference where the railway is blown up—in Megri, Azerbaijan, or Georgia. What is important to us is for there to be order, for someone to guarantee this order. Who will do this?

[Answer] The army alone will never be able to guarantee order. It can be guaranteed if this will be solved by the internal troops and by the law enforcement organs in support with all public organizations. We cannot go by ourselves with clubs and swing them.

Well, tell me, whose fault is it that the railway service has stopped? The fact is that it was blown up. And who did this, very likely, will be answered by the investigation.

[Question] But if we make a purely logical judgement, why would the Armenians in their own republic, in their own territory blow up the railway? You see, this is to organize another blockade against themselves. Is such a thing conceivable?

[Answer] Logical thinking, of course, is a good thing. But remember, when we are talking about such things, facts are still needed. I do not have the facts. I would not like to simply talk like that, if only because I know how attentively people treat every word, what its price is. Today, in my view, the time has come when we should not explain who is more and who is less guilty, today we need to make it possible for the people to live.

[Question] Mikhail Semenovitch, the following question. Here, as a USSR people's deputy of the Armenian SSR [still you represent our republic], you are not insulted by the conduct of the mass media, which all the time call the Armenian members of revolutionary fighting groups Armenian extremists, but the Azerbaijanis—simply members of revolutionary fighting groups. In recent months, I did not hear even once that it was the other way around. The Armenians at the center [and I believe that this is, first of all, the position of the center] always go to the extremists. I understand that for the army and for the law enforcement organs, a member of a revolutionary fighting organization and an extremist is all the same. But the whole people is not indifferent to this. Extremist all the same sounds insulting. What is being done by you, as a deputy, in order for there not to be such a crying injustice lying literally on the surface?

[Answer] The question is so complex that I do not know how to answer it more correctly. I personally, both as a man, as a deputy, and as a general, have enormous grievances against the mass media: Both the central and sometimes even the republic media.

The republic mass media hastened to shoulder us with the responsibility for everything that is taking place in

Getashen, Azat, and Kamo, having pointed out that this is the handiwork of the Soviet Army, although not a single soldier of the Soviet Army was and is there, besides myself, when I flew there for negotiations.

We have gone through this. We are today persistently being shouldered with responsibility for what took place in Gorisskiy Rayon. There, of course, inaccuracies in the formulations. With respect to the mass media, I already at the Congress of People's Deputies said that it is impossible in the assessment of the events between the two republics to use any categorical expressions and to give unequivocal assessments.

I believe that at some beginning stage there was justification in Armenia for self-defense detachments, with the representatives of which I was even acquainted, and I met with them. But today, when already more than a dozen appeals and requests have been heard to stand above all this, when one must understand and realize that it is impossible for there to be armed people at the border, ready to use those weapons, I am already unable to say that they protect the interests of Armenia. They sooner will bring more harm than good. I would not like to use the words "members of revolutionary fighting organizations" and "extremists"—this terminology is foreign to me.

I myself have become personally convinced that there are very many provocations, rumors, and inventions. I will cite two examples. I find myself in Nakhichevan Autonomous Oblast. A helicopter is flying. People tell me: Look, comrade general, Armenian members of revolutionary fighting organizations have flown by. I get into a car, and at once run over here. I talk with our lads, they say: "These are Azerbaijani members of revolutionary fighting organizations." I inquire over a portable radio transmitter, who is flying, whose helicopter? Why are the identification marks not visible? They answer me: "The chief of the internal troops is flying through Nakhichevan."

The second example: . . . In Ilyichevsk we are conducting negotiations on the railway. A group of people comes running and they say: Verkhniy Yadzhi has been completely sacked, all the people have perished. I fly there—all are alive and in good health, all are standing, all are looking. I asked, where did they shoot. They say: Over there up above, in the mountain. It is 3 kilometers to the point to which they point. I fly over the mountain, I land in the village of Khachik—the same picture: They say, they shot from the mountain. . . .

I once again address myself to the people who hear us and want to hear: Give us, and the internal troops as well, the opportunity to fulfill our duty.

I would like to emphasize again that now it is very important for the leaders of all ranks—of military, civic, formal and informal organizations—to sit down at the negotiation table, to come to some kind of agreement. It is also important for a control mechanism to be developed, a mechanism for checking the presence of

weapons. And, of course, to treat the army, which is fulfilling its duty here, with respect. I can in no way justify people who attack soldiers, disarm a military guard, and rob military depots. This can in no case be called a political struggle. Such methods are unacceptable.

I would like very much for this interview to be perceived correctly by the reader. The Soviet Army, at least the one which I represent here, treats the Armenian people with great respect. We very much want for Armenia to begin to live its former, quiet life, but without the assistance of the people the army alone will not solve the problems. I know that enormous work is being done by the deputy corps of Armenia, the leadership for the stabilization of the situation. Already the fact that the State-Republic Committee for Nationality Questions is also a step toward the solution of the problem. Personally I believe that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast cannot be solved in isolation. It is necessary to solve the problem of all the autonomous units at once.

[Question] Soon will be 24 April. This is not only the day when the Armenian people will remember the guiltless victims of 1915, but also the day when the recent events in Sumgait, Kirovabad, and Baku... will be resurrected in the memory. . . .

[Answer] I am convinced that all of us, be it deputies or servicemen, should nevertheless express words of condolence to the Armenian people. This is common grief, is it not. Besides, I am convinced that today it is necessary to summon wisdom and endurance. You see, now so many problems have accumulated in the country, especially in inter-nationality relations, that any attempt to accelerate these solutions can lead to a conflict, to still greater grief, and to new tragedies. Well, of course, I think that the Supreme Soviet will adopt a new Constitution during this year, and I will advocate that in it, where the autonomous units are discussed, their political and economic rights should be clearly secured for them.

And further I think that, if there is a continuation of the escalation of tension around Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, presidential rule should be introduced in this sector. I also would like to express the desire that the various parties, groupings, and fronts that are being newly created and that are operating should not only issue appeals, but meanwhile should think about the consequences of their appeals. Today it is already clear that we will be living in the conditions of a multi-party system, of various views. For this reason, I think, all of us must learn to listen to one another first of all, and to respect the viewpoint of the opponent. In Armenia there have always been many intelligent, clever, and literate people, they must in the end have their say.

[Question] Mikhail Semenovich, as far as the cases of the seizure of weapons are concerned, I am in agreement with you: This is very bad where they attack servicemen

and steal weapons from them. But, you know, what sets people going in this case: We are not being protected, so let us protect ourselves?

[Answer] Today this is an incorrect formulation of the question, since if the internal troops, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, are entrusted with the protection of people, then give them the opportunity to operate. But how are they to work if every time someone is subjected to attack? And then, you see, there is the Decree of the Supreme Soviet of 5 March, which pertains to Azerbaijan and Armenia, and it should be implemented.

I am today most of all worried by the disaster zone, by the problem of its restoration. I do not understand why our various informal organizations have completely forgotten about this. That is why the earthquake zone today is in such a serious position. You see, these blockades, these squabbles have led to the fact that many builders have already left the regions that suffered. As a deputy from Leninakan, the fate of this city worries me first of all. There are many problems there that need to be solved.

[Question] How are they to be solved if the republic does not find a way out of the blockades?

[Answer] This is another problem on which I am also prepared to work. I cannot give the name of the person whose guilt it is that the railway again has stopped, I do not know what nationality he is. I am convinced that it is not only the military who bear responsibility for this. Today the disaster zone must be in first place, both for the young people and for the elderly. I spoke about this problem at the 2nd Congress and addressed a letter to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and other leaders of the party and government. But in terms of a large account, the zone is not being restored. Here is where the efforts of our numerous public and informal organizations should be directed.

[Question] Mikhail Semenovich, on 9 April, during the incident in the building of the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet, the Ministry of Internal Affairs demonstrated its complete helplessness. How is it, you say, that the maintenance of order is entrusted to and implemented by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but the militia could not even protect the chairman. Is this not indicative of something? . . . .

[Answer] Personally I am filled with indignation by the inaction of the militia, there was a sufficient number of representatives of the protection of law and order, who were obligated to adopt measures for the protection of the chairman. I think that they should bear responsibility for their criminal passiveness, just like the immediate executors. I am already not talking about the fact that what happened is profoundly immoral, inhuman, and amoral. Points of view may diverge on things of one sort or another, but this does not mean that those who occupy a different position are enemies. I am convinced that this was done not by those who grieve for the Armenian people, this is the handiwork of ill-wishers.

If we are talking about a rule-of-law state, sooner about the attempt to create one, we do not have the right to attack one another, to take someone hostage, and to insult those who do not agree with us. These are not the methods of civilized people. Violence, no matter under what pretext it was committed, cannot be justified in any case. It is time for us all, finally, to begin to live according to the laws.

[Question] The Law on the State of Emergency has been published. What is your attitude to it, is it irrefragable in your opinion?

[Answer] Well, first of all, it was adopted by the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I only got acquainted with it today in the press and I have not succeeded in analyzing it all the way, but I think that, as any law, it has places that are not fully worked through. To analyze it in greater detail now would be hasty on my part.

[Question] Did the army not demonstrate its failure when the State Border of the USSR was violated for a distance of 100 kilometers?

[Answer] You see, here ignorance shows again. It is the border troops which serve there. . . .

[Question] But this is also the Soviet Army?

[Answer] No, already KGB, they are subordinated to Kryuchkov, we—to comrade Yazov. And the internal troops are subordinated to comrade Bakatin. These are three different departments. This is first of all. But secondly, it has already been said many times that, of course, it is much more difficult for us to act today. I understand how I must act against the enemies of the country. Then I can use weapons, equipment, all sorts of tactics, strategy, and aircraft. But when it is one's people, even if it is subject to the most unreasonable, the most unacceptable idea, against it the art of war does not always help. Here it must be the art of the political leader of any rank, as well as the public leader, the mass media, and the attitude of people. Only not the army. The army is strong when it uses arms.

[Question] Then the following question: You are convinced that the Soviet Army could guarantee the security of the country if it finds itself in the place of the KGB troops?

[Answer] I am convinced of one thing, that the Soviet Army is able to guarantee the security of the country within the borders of the Soviet Union, if it is threatened by an opponent from the outside. We have sufficient might, equipment, strength, reason, and support of the people. To use the army, and all its power, against our own people, even if it is not right in something, we do not have the right. This will never be. Our basic task, however strange, is a peaceful one, and for this reason, perhaps, it is not clear why sometimes we do not succeed. But we proved to be first in such a situation, and we must be the first to think how we should organize our work. And you think why are cases of the seizure of

weapons from servicemen at the posts possible? Well, because our soldier is used to having peaceful people around him, he never thinks that they might attack him. For this reason they come up close to him, and he does not resist. In Armenia, no one shoots at a soldier, but in Azerbaijan? You see, there they killed them, but all the same they did not consider the Azerbaijani enemies.

[Question] Mikhail Semenovich, if some of my questions somehow offended you or hurt your feelings, I ask you to forgive me. I assure you, I least of all wanted this.

[Answer] Perhaps, I, too, today said not altogether pleasant things and, perhaps, something did not please someone, but I tried for us to have an honest and open discussion. The Soviet Army, too, sometimes permits some mistakes and miscalculations, because today we all live in new conditions. Let us not go in the direction of confrontation, but go in the direction of unification and mutual understanding in the solution of all problems. I have the greatest respect for the Armenian people, and I would like to ask the people to support us. It is time to put an end to the disturbances, time to end the lawlessness. It is necessary for the people to be able to live and work calmly and peacefully.

#### **Armenian CP Appeal to Citizenry on Election Participation**

*90US0879B Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
3 Apr 90 p 1*

[Appeal of Armenian CP Central Committee to Laboring Public and All Citizens of Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The elections of people's deputies to the republic and local soviets of the Armenian SSR are approaching. The democratic wishes of the people will determine the membership of government bodies, and another important step will be taken in the establishment of the principles of genuine democracy.

The policy of social renewal announced by the party and supported by the people has assigned priority to several acute political, economic, social, ethnic, and moral-psychological problems in the daily activity of party, soviet, and economic administrative organs, social organizations, and labor collectives in the republic.

The process of profound changes in the society, which is encompassing all spheres of life and which affects the interests of each labor collective, each family, and each inhabitant of the republic directly, is not as smooth or as quick as we would like. This is connected with the inertia of the past, with the unfamiliarity of some problems, and with the real difficulties that sometimes inhibit perestroika processes. For a long time pretentious and ostentatious behavior was rife in the republic, economic conditions were deteriorating, and the social dissatisfaction of the people was growing. The situation became

intolerable in housing, trade, and medical, consumer, and municipal services. We are facing acute ecological problems.

**The September (1988) Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee, backed up by the increase in public activity, set forth a realistic and thoroughly considered program which essentially represented the basis of the national program of renewal and recovery.**

The devastating earthquake, the unsolved Karabakh problem, the presence of around 300,000 refugees, the repeated blockades, and the depth and severity of the deformities which occurred during the years of stagnation, however, complicated all socioeconomic life in the republic, disorganized its economic complex, and made it impossible to carry out the decisions in the program in full and on schedule.

It took a colossal effort to alleviate the after-effects of the quake as quickly as possible. The Soviet nation, all of the union republics, and the world community responded to the Armenian people's grief with deep sympathy and genuine compassion and gave the Armenian people free aid and support. As a result, within a short time the people who had suffered the greatest losses were able to live a normal life again; trade, transportation, municipal, and consumer service facilities began operating again; and measures were taken for the social rehabilitation of the quake victims. A strong base was established for the construction industry, over 50 percent of all the lost jobs were restored, and most of the population in the quake zone was included in social production.

We realize that we have not been able to carry out all of our plans. The slow recovery of cities and rural communities in the quake zone aroused great concern. Today people are expecting the stepped-up construction of new residential buildings and the restoration of damaged ones, the organization of private housing construction on a broad scale, and the completion of schools and pre-school establishments, public health and cultural facilities, and supply lines. Measures are being taken to effect a dramatic change in the speed of restoration work. It is the duty of each inhabitant of the republic to take an active part in this work.

During this difficult period in the republic, the Central Committee has been exceptionally concerned about inter-ethnic relations and the resolution of the problem of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. The position of the Communist Party of Armenia on these matters is well known. It has been formulated clearly and precisely at congresses of people's deputies of the USSR, CPSU Central Committee plenums, and sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the republic Supreme Soviet. We feel that the key to their resolution lies in the implementation of the Leninist principle of national self-determination.

We are striving for the consolidation of all of the nationalities and ethnic groups living in the republic and

for the maximum development of their national cultures, customs, and traditions.

**The cornerstone of our campaign platform was concern for the individual and constant consideration for the vital needs of the people.** The citizens of our republic and the voters who resolutely support perestroyka wanted to produce results more quickly. Some of our most acute problems are connected with the need to supply the population with food and the necessary manufactured goods, to intensify the struggle against mismanagement and misdemeanors, to organize the work of the trade system and the service sphere, to provide cities and rural communities with all of the necessary public services and amenities, to improve the ecological situation, to step up the social reorientation of the economy, and much more. We completely share the people's concern about the present state of affairs and will do everything within our power to establish social justice and guarantee the social protection of people.

Measures are being taken to improve health care, medical treatment, and the social maintenance of the population, to improve the working and living conditions of women and the status of labor and war veterans and the disabled, and to establish the necessary conditions for the medical and social rehabilitation of the earthquake victims.

**Refugees are one of our special concerns.** Of course, it will take some time to arrange for their more efficient settlement and secure their employment. The work on the program to solve the refugee problem will include the establishment of the necessary conditions for their complete integration into all spheres of republic life.

**The main sociopolitical objective is the satisfaction of public demand for food products.** We are certain that the new agrarian policy will provide an opportunity to display the full range of the labor and social activity of rural workers, reinstate the peasant as the real master of the land, and improve the food supply of the republic population considerably.

The **housing shortage**, which worries many families, especially young couples, is still acute. The Communist Party of Armenia is taking all of the necessary steps to speed up the resolution of the housing problem. It will make use of every possibility—state construction, participation by enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses, and the development of cooperative and private housing construction.

**The Armenian CP Central Committee shares the republic population's worries about the exacerbation of the ecological situation** and is taking a sound approach to the resolution of the difficult problems that have taken root in this sphere. A fundamentally new policy of environmental protection and restoration is being carried out. The Armenian AES and Alaverdi Mining and Metallurgical Combine have already been closed and several types of ecologically harmful production have been stopped at the Kirovakan Chemical Plant and the Nairit



Scientific Production Association. We will persist in the broad-scale work for the cardinal improvement of the ecological state of the republic and secure the creation of a qualitatively new habitat.

We know that **the foundation of a strong social policy is a healthy economy.** For several reasons, the republic economy is in a state of crisis. The state of affairs here has aroused serious apprehension. A colossal effort must be made, and the first steps are already being taken. The principles of the radical economic reform are being introduced on an ever-broader scale. Measures are being taken to improve the republic's financial status and diminish inflationary processes. Nevertheless, our economy is still not operating with the necessary effectiveness, and people still have not experienced the results of its perestroyka. We will have to do a great deal: develop scientific and technical progress, the territorial principles of self-management and self-financing, and regional forms of economic accountability.

We support the structural reorganization of the economy in favor of the consumer sector, the radical modernization of the basic and traditional branches of the Armenian economy, the substantial augmentation of the proportion accounted for by finished items in the social product, the intensification of intra-republic cooperation in production, the stepped-up development of intellectual-industrial production units and small enterprises with flexible forms of production organization, and the re-specialization of outdated and ineffectual enterprises, shops, and branches. We see the main objective as an integral and efficiently operating national economic complex in the republic.

Efforts are being made to plan and carry out a national program to lead Armenia out of the state of socioeconomic crisis.

The Communist Party of Armenia will strive for the resolute elimination of the discredited authoritarian system of management, for a quicker transition to an effective planned market economy, for the assignment of equal priority to the development of many different forms of ownership, and for the consistent implementation of the concept of republic economic autonomy.

In order to accelerate restoration processes and economic renewal, we have been making a persistent effort to establish a qualitatively new system of foreign economic operations in line with the fundamental principles of perestroyka and the new political thinking and to solve the problem of gradually turning the republic into a free enterprise zone.

**The Communists of the republic will make a maximum effort to add dynamism and innovation to socioeconomic life.**

As part of the renewed federation, we will strengthen the republic's sovereignty and economic autonomy and unite all healthy forces in our society for the complete intellectual and spiritual self-assertion of the people,

guided by the idea of national consolidation, and strengthen the unity of Soviet Armenia.

Concrete steps are being taken to promote the continued development of science, the national culture, and higher and secondary education, to secure the widespread use of Armenian as the state language in the republic, and to fill in the "blanks" in the history of the Armenian people.

The coming elections should play the decisive role in the current political reform, promote the reconstruction of republic and local government agencies, and augment the role and responsibility of soviets for all of the main areas of social life. **During the elections, party organizations will strive for the formation of capable soviets, as organs of genuine democracy able to take on new functions, conduct their affairs with initiative and energy, find effective solutions to urgent problems in the republic, and aid in the renewal of all aspects of life.**

We want the soviets to represent a cross-section of society, guaranteeing the intelligentsia, workers, peasants, women, and youth the necessary representation and expressing the interests of all strata and social groups. This should be accomplished by relying on the principles of free choice, giving preference to individuals displaying the new way of thinking and acting, individuals who have won prestige not with demagogic statements and empty promises, but with integrity, a cogent program of action, and the ability to make constructive decisions.

The new democratic social organizations and movements and informal associations have become a fact of our sociopolitical life. We completely support and will continue to support the ones whose programs and actions are consistent with the goals and objectives of the renewal of our society and with the public interest.

One of the essential conditions for the implementation of the party's announced line of social democratization is the unconditional observance of the Leninist principles and constitutional rights of freedom of religion and respect for the wishes of believers and the peacemaking efforts of religious organizations.

The Communist Party of Armenia will develop democracy and glasnost to the utmost and strive to make its political and organizational work more dynamic.

The successful resolution of urgent political, social, ethnic, and economic problems will depend on the people who occupy the seats in the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies. They must be individuals wholly committed to the national interest, active and honest individuals who will devote all of their strength, knowledge, and energy to public service. **Our people's fortitude and wisdom, past experience, unshakable faith in the future, and spiritual and moral potential, which can only be strengthened through the unification and consolidation of all social strata, will guarantee the success of perestroyka in the republic. The party will adhere firmly to this course.**

The public interest and the interests of each citizen of our republic constitute the highest goal the Communist Party of Armenia is serving and will continue to serve. It has no other interests.

The Armenian CP Central Committee is issuing this appeal to the inhabitants of the republic—to men and women, to veterans and youth, to workers and rural laborers, to the intelligentsia, and to the soldiers of the Soviet Army—to ask them to take an active part in the elections and to cast their ballots for the active supporters of change, the individuals who think and act responsibly and keep an eye on the big picture.

Remember, dear fellow citizens, that this will decide the fate of Soviet Armenia, its future.

### Spate of Resignations from Armenian CP Examined

90US0879A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
29 Mar 90 p 2

[Article by N. Mesropyan: "A 'Volga' or...a Party Membership Card"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] Following the example of *IZVESTIYA*, newspapers have begun printing conversations with financial inspectors regularly. As far as I know, no one seems to have had any recent conversations with "party procurators"—the chairmen of party commissions. This, however, was not the only reason I went to see the chairman of the party commission of the Kirovakan party gorkom, Feliks Vazgenovich Movsisyan. Many recent developments within the party have focused attention on precisely this area. People in the city are saying that Communists are leaving the CPSU almost in droves, and as we know, matters of this kind are investigated, if this is the right term to use in this context, and documented by the party commission.

I must admit that I never expected to arrive at the very height of the kind of emotional conversation that, as people had told me, occurs so frequently here. As I found out, a fitter from the corundum production unit of the Rubin plant had come there to announce his resignation from the CPSU. Vigen Bekchyan had been a party member since 1961. He joined the CPSU when he was 28, so he could not say that he had done it by mistake or that he had been too young to know what he was doing. He had not incurred any party penalties and was not considered to be an active or passive member. In short, he was a Communist like many others.

Then why did Vigen Tsovakovich Bekchyan, a skilled worker, a member of the class which had commonly been regarded as the main hope and buttress of the party and even of the whole country, want to leave the CPSU?

"I have lost faith in the party," he explained, showing no wish to expand on this categorical remark.

"Did you ever have faith in it?"

"Yes. When I joined, I was a believer."

"In what?"

He chuckled: "In a bright future." Then, in an aggravated tone, he told me the main reason for his decision. In essence, this was his story. In 1961, almost at the same time that he joined the party, Bekchyan signed up for a "Volga." "I thought that since I was an outstanding worker and also a member of the party, why should I not be one of the ones to get a 'Volga'?" Apparently, he had been asking the same question for all of these years, and when he never received an answer, he became disillusioned...with the party.

Everyone knows that the party does not distribute automobiles. It does see that they are distributed fairly, but this is a different matter.

"Worthless people got a 'Volga,'" Bekchyan persisted in his own line of reasoning, "but I did not."

We asked him to give us the name of at least one of these worthless people and promised to look into the matter and restore justice. In response, Bekchyan looked at us with an expression that said he was tired of being duped.

The party commission personnel who had investigated Bekchyan's complaints concluded that his claims were, to put it mildly, rather pretentious. It is true that the plant was never able to offer him the model he wanted, but it did give him two chances to buy a car—first a "Zhiguli" in 1976 and then a "Moskvich" in 1979. In short, Bekchyan was exaggerating when he claimed to have been slighted. Furthermore, the party does not seem to have any connection with this incident.

The reason I mentioned the incident is that before I went to the commission, I must admit that I also thought that the party was losing if not its very best members, then at least quite valuable ones. As it turned out, however.... But is one example a sound basis for this kind of generalization? The chairman of the party commission did not answer this question directly, although he said he was certain that the party will not suffer much from the loss of the people who are leaving it now.

Let us begin by taking a look at the statistics. As we know, Communists either resign from the party or are expelled from it. The expulsion figures seem to be quite normal. In 1982, for example, 28 members of the CPSU were expelled from the Kirovakan party organization, in 1984 there were 30 expulsions, and this year there were only 23. Resignation figures reveal a much more complex pattern: 13 people resigned in 1989, which was twice the figure for the previous year.

"In the past the people who resigned from the party were known as 'migrant-members,' F. Movsisyan explained. "When they went away for several months on seasonal jobs, they did not take their coupon books with them, did not pay their membership dues, and naturally resigned from the party. Now we are seeing something different. People do not want to stay in the party, but they do not

announce this openly. They simply stop paying their dues. In the final analysis, these are resignations rather than expulsions."

In the past it would have been rare for a person to openly announce that he was leaving the party, although there were probably many who did not agree with the CPSU line in principle. If Communists are now camouflaging their resignation from the CPSU with the non-payment of membership dues, it is apparent that the fear that was alive in those days still exists today. It is as if they are saying that they are simply careless, and not that they are confirmed opponents of the present party line. After all, a reputation for carelessness is easier to bear. But to tell you the truth, I have much more respect for people with convictions than for those who hide their true identity.

The case of Bekchyan and others like him would seem to confirm the opinion that people were not that careful in the past about replenishing the party ranks with worthwhile individuals. I am not even speaking of the opportunists and graspers who still make up a large segment of the party membership and who use their CPSU membership cards to cover up their own shady dealings. This is a separate topic, and people are not quite ready to discuss it in the republic or even in the country as a whole. We are being advised constantly not to look for someone to blame for our present troubles, and I feel that this is precisely why perestroika has been seriously derailed.

Let us discuss something else. It is no secret that the party was and is particularly eager to welcome workers into its ranks. In the past there was the assumption that a simple laborer could not have questionable morals or ideological standards. Is this the reason that so many people in the party have no idea of its program, of its immediate and long-range objectives and, in short, of what the party stands for and upholds?

Many of us have had these thoughts for a long time, but the trouble is that few of us were courageous enough to say them out loud. The ideological tempering of party members turned into such a formality that even the propagandists did not know anything but a couple of memorized phrases. Now I feel the matter has grown much more complicated. Democratic centralism has lost its status as the primary principle in almost all spheres of intra-party life. People often publicly disagree with certain details of the decisions of superior agencies, and what was promised in exchange has never filtered down to all of the party members. This has caused confusion not only in party affairs, but also in ideological precepts.

I am not blaming the Communists who cannot make head or tail of this turmoil and have given in to pessimism. It is time to think things over carefully, and each person has the right to decide his own future. What disturbs me is something else. Some people are so inexperienced and so incapable of understanding the underlying causes of the present cataclysms that they follow the advice of others who have no objection to

sinking our ship, and they make rash decisions without realizing what kind of step they are taking. Here is an example. Recently two toolmakers from the lighting fixture plant, Emin Aleksanyan and Levon Yeganyan, were expelled from the party. When they were asked why they did not want to remain in the party, they said they did not agree with CPSU ethnic policy. Further discussions revealed, however, that they did not know any of the fundamental principles of this policy.

I think this is an extremely indicative example. It is true that the party now has many members who feel no commitment to it, and parting company with them will not be a great loss. As for the other qualities of E. Aleksanyan and L. Yeganyan, they are completely decent men, and probably will not start doing their work any less conscientiously or commit any kind of antisocial acts just because they no longer belong to the party.

I asked F. Movsisyan: "Do you think they were following their conscience when they said they disagreed with the party policy on nationalities?"

"No. They were simply associating the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh with ethnic policy. They do not know anything about the CPSU platform on ethnic policy or about other aspects of this policy, and I think they do not even want to know. It is a great pity! After all, the party has not pronounced its final verdict on this matter, and all of us who remain in the party must do everything within our power to make the policy on nationalities genuinely Leninist."

"Would you say that most of the people who are leaving the party are like these men?"

"Not at all. There are some whose motives are absolutely unacceptable. For example, an electrician from the Vaspurakan Production Association, Roland Amirkhanyan, informed the gorkom bureau that he was getting old and did not have the energy he once had, and that even if he stayed in the party, all he would do is pay his dues. Does the party need a man who has no wish whatsoever to do political work? The party gorkom bureau decided unanimously that the party did not need him. I think the same decision could apply to many Communists who always pay their dues and think that this is their only obligation. I am certain that the party did the right thing when it acknowledged the possibility of the existence of other parties in our country. The dead weight in our ranks will be unloaded, and then we will be able to say quite definitely that each person remaining in the CPSU is a genuine Communist.

#### **Armenian CP Removes Internal Affairs Minister for Inadequate Control**

90US0967A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
11 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report on Armenian CP Central Committee Bureau action in response to disturbances in Armenia: "In the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] On 9-10 April of this year, a session of the Bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee took place, which discussed the question of the situation that had developed in the city of Yerevan in connection with the forceful actions of a group hooligan elements in the building of the Presidium of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet, which committed outrages and physical violence against the chairman of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet, comrade G. M. Voskanyan and other officials.

This was preceded by unsanctioned meetings with appeals to violent and unlawful actions that have become increasingly frequent in Yerevan recently, by the seizure of the building of the Presidium of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet, and by physical violence against officials.

Already for a long time, a sit-in demonstration with the use of posters and slogans of an anti-state and inflammatory character is being conducted has been conducted by some informal organizations. Repeatedly the normal work of the Presidium apparatus has been disturbed by them.

On 6 April of this year, a group of hooligans elements burst into the building and tried to carry out a pogrom and razed the state flag of the republic.

The persons who caused the illegalities on 9 April used as the grounds for their improper actions the cases of the arrest, by sub-units of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, of persons of Armenian nationality in the border regions of the republic and the transfer of their cases to the AzSSR Procuracy—actions which called forth indignation among the population.

It was noted at the session of the bureau that the pogrom that was committed in the building of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet insults the patriotic feelings of the Armenian people, it is directed against the symbols of its statehood, disgraces our people, and discredits its aspiration to democratization, the creation of a rule-of-law state, the attainment of genuine sovereignty, and a just solution of the nationality problems. The bureau noted that such a thing could occur only in a situation of disrespect for the law and for one's people, disregard of elementary norms inherent in a civilized society, the presence of important shortcomings in the activity of party and soviet organizations, and the unsatisfactory work of the law enforcement organs.

Note was taken of the extremely unsatisfactory state of public order in the city of Yerevan and the increasingly frequent cases of violations of the law and anti-social actions of hooligan elements, which do not receive a timely and proper rebuff. The passiveness of the city party organization in the work with respect to the strengthening of public order and the prevention of violations of the law, and the conduct of educational work among the population was pointed out to the Yerevan Party Gorkom. The Party Gorkom (comrade G. Ye. Asatryan), the Yerevan Ispolkom (comrade A. M. Gegamyan), and the rayon party committees were

charged with the more active pursuit of the explanatory work in the primary party committees and the labor collectives with a view to the mobilization of healthy forces, with increasing the responsibility of communists, party and soviet workers, with securing the protection of the population, and with the creation of conditions for the normal work of all organizations and institutions.

The bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee pointed out the unsatisfactory work of the law enforcement organs of the city of Yerevan and the republic, it demanded of the leadership and the collegium of the ArSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to take decisive measures aimed at the elimination of serious shortcomings and a radical improvement in the activity of the internal affairs organs. Instructions were issued to examine the question of calling to account the staff members guilty of permitting the disturbances, to strengthen the personnel composition of the services and the sub-units of the ministry, and to secure the active position of its communists in the solution of the tasks that are before the internal affairs organs.

The ArSSR minister of internal affairs, comrade U. S. Arutyunyan, was removed from the post he held.

The ArSSR procurator, comrade V. R. Nazaryan, was charged with the adoption of the necessary measures to secure public order and the protection of the legal interests of the population in the territory of the republic, to put a decisive stop to any activity of incitement-oriented elements aimed at the destabilization of the situation in the republic, and to react in a timely and keen manner to cases of violation of socialist legality. Instructions were also issued to analyze the implementation, by the investigation organs, of the requirement of the law on the examination, with maximum strictness, of incidents of crime representing special public danger, not to permit any indulgences of dangerous criminals, the leaders and active participants of organized criminal groups. The declaration of the republic Procuracy concerning the institution of criminal proceedings in matters of the attack on the building of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet were taken into consideration.

The bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee considered as inadmissible and condemned the cases of the conduct of operational measures in the territory of the republic by sub-units of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, stationed in the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR, with the arrest of inhabitants of Armenia and the transfer of the conduct of the cases to the AzSSR Procuracy, as well as other operations not coordinated with the appropriate organs of the republic.

Information was heard in the bureau concerning the decision adopted by the USSR Procurator General in response to the appeal by the Armenian CP Central Committee concerning the transfer of the arrested and detained 20 persons of Armenian nationality from Azerbaijan to other regions of the country and concerning the

acceptance of the investigation of their cases for execution by the USSR Procuracy.

The bureau charged the mass media with the development of active work in regard to the formation of public opinion concerning the necessity of a decisive struggle against anti-social manifestations, hooliganism, and other other unlawful actions, with the bolder exposure of shortcomings in the strengthening of law and order, with informing the population of Soviet Armenia about the

whole truth about the people who give themselves out to be patriots and fighters for democracy, but who in actual fact through their actions cast a shadow on the good name of the Armenian people. In the conditions of a difficult economic situation and the necessity of eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, the consolidation of all forces of the people, discipline, order, organization, and selfless labor are needed as never before.

## USSR, Italian Cooperation in Combating Crime

90UN1672A Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Apr 90 p 3.

[TRUD interview with Vadim V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs and Antonio Gava, Italian minister of internal affairs: "Crime Crosses Borders: To Fight It Requires All-European Efforts"; in Rome]

[Text] Rome, 26 April—About two months ago I ran across an interview that struck me with its title and, even more, its content. It was called "The Mafia Moves East." Well-known Italian sociologist Pino Arlacchi said in it, in particular, that the Soviet Union has always been a "tax paradise" for foreign investors and speculators. Moreover, the USSR has been "marked" more than once as a haven where illegal financial operations could be conducted to "launder" money accrued in the narcotics trade.

A sociologist's fantasy? It is unlikely that such a serious scholar as Pino Arlacchi, who is also the first Italian president of the International Association for the Study of Organized Crime, would permit himself anything of that sort. The association was formed five years ago in the United States and brings together 500 university scholars, researchers, and police departments heads from many countries of the world. So there was no reason not to believe an informed person. Doubts lingered nonetheless, however.

But a few days ago in Rome, at the Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs, I heard the following, word for word:

"Criminals have already begun working between Italy and the Soviet Union. There is evidence that Mafiosi, taking advantage of opportunities for joint enterprises and cooperatives, have carried out several illegal operations."

I heard this from the lips of USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, who was sitting alongside his colleague, Italian Minister of Internal Affairs Antonio Gava. They had just signed a memorandum for cooperation in the fight against organized crime. And now, complementing each other, they have answered journalists' questions:

[Bakatin] We know that criminals work with Italians who have work in the Soviet Union and are interested, for example, in the possibility of acquiring weapons from Italy. Some of our specialists back in December of last year asserted that the USSR has no such organized crime. This is a serious error. We do and it is growing at a great rate. Its foundation is the shadow economy, and it has for a roof the corrupt apparatus of the law enforcement organs primarily. Unlike Italian or American organized crime, organized crime in the Soviet Union gets rich mostly in the economic sphere, through embezzlement. If we were to take the overall structure of crime, the narcotics trade in the USSR makes up about 1 percent. But that does not mean that we should not be extremely alarmed. The potential exists in our country for a surge in the narcotics trade.

[Gava] Cutting off contraband narcotics is one question that can be resolved through joint efforts. We know the mechanism: bilateral and multilateral agreements, especially concluded within the framework of the U.N. The memorandum signed by the Italian and Soviet ministers of internal affairs is a definite step toward cooperation in the fight against the narcotics trade and organized crime as a whole.

[TRUD Correspondent] Minister—I'm addressing Antonio Gava—Italy has known ups and downs in organized crime. What, in your view, are the reasons behind its current growth?

[Gava] As I have informed Parliament, organized crime has been reactivated in Italy in recent years. One of the chief reasons for its growth, I think, lies in the ease of obtaining illegal profits from contraband narcotics in our country. We need to uncover the channels for "laundering" the dirty money acquired from their sale. Even a few years ago very little was said about this. Today we have in Italy the Rognoni-La Torre law, which deals with "laundering" as a crime. This problem, let us note, also concerns Minister Bakatin.

[TRUD Correspondent] Minister, do you believe that crime can be conquered?

[Gava] If I didn't I wouldn't be in this ministry today. We have to be realists. We have to know where the danger of crime comes from and prepare the instruments to fight it in time. That includes legal instruments. Italy does not have the death penalty. Discussions are even under way about abolishing life imprisonment. So be it. However, people have to be confident that the criminal will serve the prison term set by the court. As of now, Italians do not have that confidence. In fact, it is inadmissible to worry only about humane treatment of the criminal and to ignore the victims.

[Bakatin] The humanization of the justice system given the growth in crime is a complex problem. This process is under way in the Soviet Union. Take the corrective labor institutions. In 1986 they held on the order of 1,600,000 people; today the number is 700,000. Despite the growth in crime, there has been a lowering of the index of convictions. It takes courage to pursue this path. By no means everyone in the Soviet Union approves of what we're doing; some demand harsher punishment measures for criminal violations.

[TRUD Correspondent] Vadim Viktorovich, what provoked your interest in the Italian financial guards?

[Bakatin] Radicalization in the economic sphere must lead to regular market relations, to some degree of private property in the Soviet system. All this demands that we work out measures to defend the future market from the "dirty" capital of the shadow economy, which could inflict a serious blow on our society. The experience of the Italian financial guards in this regard seems useful for study.

Experience for study.... These days it is taking root even in departments closed to outsiders. The more you read in the text of the memorandum on cooperation between the Ministries of Internal Affairs of Italy and the Soviet Union, the more you are convinced of this. Judge for yourself: under the ministers' chairmanship a bilateral committee is being formed for cooperation in the struggle against organized crime. And so that the cooperation will be effective and concrete, the sides have agreed to exchange on a steady basis information and data on the forms in which organized crime manifests itself and plans for and results of the struggle against it.

Most promising, though, is the two countries' MVDs' cooperation in exposing the channels for contraband narcotics and the timely discovery of "dirty" money flows and their blockade. With this goal in mind the ministries will exchange specialists and work on establishing the causes, structure, and dynamics of organized crime. Italy is the second Western European country after Austria with which the USSR MVD has signed such a document.

"Soon," V. V. Bakatin said in our conversation, "analogous documents will be signed with other countries of the West. Organized crime in our country is beginning to grow at a furious pace. Consequently, we need to create new institutions to cut it off. It is essential, for instance, that we pave the way for our specialists to get advanced training abroad. Until the present day only one colleague a year could do this—we didn't have the hard currency. From now on we intend to disperse the hard currency the USSR MVD earns for training foreign specialists independently, to use it for advanced training for ministry colleagues in the countries that interest us. Hundreds, if not thousands, of people need it. One day the borders will be open both ways. Then the MVD's isolation will be a thing of the past."

#### USSR General Prosecutor Interviewed on Adylov Trial

90US0889A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 18, 5-11 May 90 pp 6-7

[Interview with B. Sviderskiy, USSR general prosecutor, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent A. Binev: "Comrade 'Godfather'"; date, place not specified]

[Text] Akhmadzhan Adylov, former director of the Papskiy Agro-industrial Association imeni V.I. Lenin, former USSR and UzSSR Supreme Soviet deputy, former Uzbek CP Central Committee member, and hero of socialist labor, currently charged with an entire range of serious crimes, has been in an investigation isolation cell for 5 years.

Through all these years, an investigations group under the leadership of the senior investigator for special cases has been working in Namangan (Uzbek SSR) under USSR General Prosecutor B. Sviderskiy.

The editors have received a multitude of letters with the same question: "Will A. Adylov be tried?"

Our correspondent A. Binev met with B. Sviderskiy.

[Correspondent] Will Adylov be tried? Rumors are circulating that he is at large.

[Sviderskiy] He will be tried. I can say that with all certainty. He has not been released for a moment since his arrest in 1984. He has been kept in various investigation isolation cells in Uzbekistan and Moscow.

[Correspondent] It was reported in the press that he was taken with the assistance of an army unit. Is this the case?

[Sviderskiy] And it was also reported that he gave himself in to a rank-and-file militia man... But neither the former nor the latter correspond to reality.

He was taken by a well-armed group of Uzbek MVD and KGB staffers. Adylov had been warned of arrest, but did not believe it possible. He usually had his guard, which had transportation and radio communications at its disposal. And most importantly, he had reliable informants working for him. Yet he lost, in spite of everything.

[Correspondent] Did fear for his life arise? After all, perhaps it was alive that he was dangerous?

[Sviderskiy] Yes, there were serious grounds for this fear, despite the fact that he has been maintained in republic KGB isolation.

[Correspondent] It seems like the war against the "octopus" [Sprut] on Sicily somewhere...

[Sviderskiy] The organization created by Rashidov and Adylov bore all the markings of classical mafia. As far as intertwining the ruling cliques was concerned, many of those whom Rashidov intended to name to leading positions went over to Adylov on a preliminary basis. Only after the "godfather" was convinced of their loyalty to his and Rashidov's interests, after these people promised to supply necessary information, could their appointment to a position take place. Thus, their own people were put in place in the leadership of the republic Communist Party, the Uzbek Council of Ministers, the Supreme Soviet, MVD, KGB, the Procuracy, court...

[Correspondent] Were there cases of mutiny on board ship?

[Sviderskiy] Something of the sort did occur. On 15 April 1975, after K. Mamarasulov, chairman of the Namangan Oblast committee of people's control announced his refusal to cooperate with Adylov, he was cruelly slaughtered by Adylov and R. Sitdikov, first secretary of the Papskiy Rayon party committee.

Sitdikov was spared responsibility by dying under mysterious circumstances. His body, skull crushed, was found next to a gun given him the previous evening by Adylov's brother.

Another example: In the early eighties, I. Buriyev, former first secretary of the Zarafshan gorkom, was in Moscow and went to the USSR MVD and KGB with information on the criminal activity of Adylov and his group. They advised him to return home. The "signal" of his betrayal came after him from Adylov's informant. Buriyev was taken to a secluded spot at night and subjected to a cruel interrogation in the presence of Adylov and one of the members of the republic Supreme Court. They condemned Buriyev on prefabricated accusations.

Adylov used various means to get even with opponents: torture, bringing criminal charges against innocent people, also with the assistance of anonymous letters...

[Correspondent] "Anonymous letters," you say? You can't be serious!

[Sviderskiy] You're mistaken, I'm quite serious. Subordinate to him was an entire factory for producing anonymous letters. This was a well-tuned mechanism of intentional disinformation regarding individuals who did not please Rashidov and Adylov. Criminal cases were falsified against people; they were sentenced to long terms. They were tortured, and forced to give evidence. Strictly speaking, Adylov was necessary to Rashidov for such "cases" in removing political opponents.

[Correspondent] Who among Adylov's people are obliged to him for appointments?

[Sviderskiy] For example, from the more famous ones, I. Usmankhodzhayev. He was mercilessly beaten for a careless attitude toward one of Adylov's assignments. The "master," or "Stalin," as Adylov called himself, threatened at that time that if he, Usmankhodzhayev, permitted himself such an attitude toward tasks, that he and Rashidov would not appoint him to the post of obkom secretary. He begged forgiveness on his knees.

[Correspondent] But apparently, he received it? He later even became Central Committee first secretary.

[Sviderskiy] He simply drew for himself the appropriate conclusions and announced to Adylov that he was prepared to do everything the latter told him to do. Adylov reproached him that he had spent a million to get him appointed to the post of chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. Usmankhodzhayev promised to pay it off.

[Correspondent] Pay it off how?

[Sviderskiy] With interest. In 1981-1982, the case of the disappearance of shepherd Akhmedov came up. In connection with the investigation of the circumstances of his death, an audit was conducted and major embezzlement, bribery, and a number of serious crimes committed by Adylov and his group were discovered. Rashidov entrusted Usmankhodzhayev to head the commission to "verify" the incidents, knowing that the latter was indebted specifically to Adylov for his career advancement. As the result of this "activity," people guilty of

committing serious crimes were at liberty, and quick work was made of those who attempted to unmask Adylov and his accomplices.

The senior investigator for especially important cases under the republic procuracy at that time, A. Aliboyev, played a definite role in releasing guilty parties from criminal responsibility. He was later appointed the procurator for Samarkand, not without Adylov's assistance.

[Correspondent] So, the first attempt to "get" Adylov was not successful?

[Sviderskiy] This was not the first attempt, but the second. The first was undertaken in the mid-seventies by Kh. Yakhyayev, former Uzbek SSR minister of internal affairs. Exploiting Sh. Rashidov's absence, he captured A. Adylov. And this was in spite of the fact that all the roads leading to Adylov's holdings were controlled by his observers. But they let Adylov go at Rashidov's order. By his own admission, the offended Adylov planned an attempt on Yakhyayev's life. But Yakhyayev took measures, and the shot was not fired.

[Correspondent] Yakhyayev was removed from his post, not without Adylov's help?

[Sviderskiy] Yes, and to his post was appointed Ergashev, the former Namangan oblispolkom UVD chief, with whom Adylov had complete mutual understanding. Subsequently, after the start of the investigation, Ergashev and one of his deputies, Davidov, committed suicide.

[Correspondent] Why is the investigation dragging out for so long?

[Sviderskiy] Together with his protector Rashidov, this man committed crimes for over 20 years. Practically all Adylov's economic activity is saturated with the criminal element.

[Correspondent] What is the status of the case today?

On 1 December 1989, Adylov and his defense attorney were presented for familiarization purposes over 100 volumes of the criminal case. The primary grounds for bringing this to trial (5 years ago) were his threats to deal with certain individuals from the local party organs. Now he has been accused of having committed serious crimes: Primarily, this is exceeding official authority, by way of beating and torturing individual subordinate to him; particularly large-scale embezzlement, and the like.

For example, in punishing his subordinates, he would douse them with ice water and keep them out in the cold afterward. He cynically called this procedure "karby-shevka" [after D.M. Karbyshev, military figure tortured by Nazis in Mauthausen].



Now, fearing responsibility for having perpetrated crimes, he is intentionally dragging out his familiarization with the case materials, reading about five pages per day, including his own testimony, with which he is already familiar.

He and his defense attorney have been designated a case familiarization term in complete compliance with the law.

[Correspondent] How much material has been marked from Adylov's people, and what has been their fate?

[Sviderskiy] Some 140 cases against his accomplices. Court proceedings have already taken place in 30 of them. In two of them, sentences have already been handed down this year; two are being considered in the Namangan court, and two are in preparation to be transferred to court. In the case against Adylov himself, four more of his accomplices will be tried, three of whom, already having been acquainted with the majority of the material, came to the conclusion that the investigation is being conducted objectively. In view of this, they declined to have defense attorneys.

[Correspondent] You worked only in Uzbekistan?

[Sviderskiy] I've had to travel all over the country.

[Correspondent] And you spent time in Moscow?

[Sviderskiy] I understand the direction of your question. Yes, Adylov's connections led to the Baltics, Siberia, and Moscow. While handing out prizes to the republic and the presidium, among the few people with Brezhnev, Suslov, and Rashidov was Adylov as well.

We discovered that in Moscow alone, Adylov spent more than R100,000 on gifts and bribes. There figure here individuals who hold high posts in the ministerial and departmental apparatus, even in the mass information media. Typically, this man undistinguished by outstanding literacy or culture, with the habits of a Basmach, valued information above all.

[Correspondent] Why not name names?

[Sviderskiy] That is impossible at this time. First of all, not everyone has been questioned; secondly, only the court can decide matters of guilt, and thirdly, there is such a concept as the "investigative secret." It is not yet time.

[Correspondent] One hundred thousand. That, of course, is no small amount of money. But it is likely that this was not the "godfather's" last cent?

[Sviderskiy] Far from it. We conducted a search using the latest search technology, since it was possible to hide anything in the holdings of the "khan." His resources included, for example, unrecorded livestock. Discovering all these "details" took years. He laid out only a few hundred thousand rubles of his millions. The main thing

for us was something else—to reveal all those whom Rashidov and Adylov put into state and party posts, to unmask them.

[Correspondent] Are you certain that 2 years from now, everything you are doing won't seem criminal to someone?

[Sviderskiy] We are not working to satisfy someone's ambitions, but in the name of the law. We know that there are people in various state echelons who are interested in every turn of the case. With the support of this same Adylov, Brezhnev and Rashidov set up their people in key positions for over 20 years.

Our activity has been verified more than once. No violations of the law have been permitted.

[Correspondent] I heard that some sort of groups have been formed in Tashkent to rehabilitate Rashidov's "good name." Is this the case?

[Sviderskiy] That cannot be allowed. Rashidov and Adylov are a single criminal system. All information on the criminal activity of Adylov and his group accumulated by the republic KGB organs was destroyed at the behest of Rashidov.

Rashidov and Adylov ruled for many years, destroying their opponents and setting up people loyal to them in key positions. Even today, we must come up against the remaining links of their structures, subject to unconditional elimination.

### KGB Officer's Career Abroad Profiled

90UN1911A Moscow TRUD in Russian  
17, 19, 20 May 90

[Three-part article by Vitaliy Golobachev: "20 Years Under a Different Name: About a Soviet Intelligence Officer Who Worked in Many Countries of the East and West"]

[17 May 90, p 4]

[Text] "Not so long ago, in several issues of TRUD [8, 14, 15, 20 March] documentary material was published concerning the surprising fate of a Soviet intelligence officer, the former film actress Irina Karimovna Alimova. She worked abroad [already after the war] together with her husband, but only a few lines are devoted to him in the article. Not even his name is given. In my opinion, this is not good or just. For certain, he spent his entire life on a knife's edge, subjecting himself to mortal danger in the name of the higher interests of the Motherland, and we thank him in his old age in this way—by oblivion... These people deserve at least a good word! I ask that you send my letter on to the chairman of the USSR Committee of State Security.—N. Sinelshchikova, branch nurse, Polyclinic No. 2, RSFSR Ministry of Health, Moscow."

*The editors received an unexpectedly prompt positive response to this appeal.*

...When we were driving to see Shamil Abdullazyanovich Khamzin in the same modestly furnished apartment in a housing block, with its five-meter kitchen, where a month earlier I had talked with Irina Karimovna Alimova (each spouse has kept their own name), the director of one of the units of Soviet Foreign Intelligence, a stately 65 year old colonel, said to me:

"You know, intelligence officers are not very talkative if the conversation is about their lives. Don't put any particular pressure on him... Incidentally, he returned from his last foreign assignment very recently (by our measure)—at the beginning of the 1980's. Altogether, Shamil spent about twenty years abroad under a different name. After this, it is not so easy... (the colonel thought for a second) How best to put it? To 'thaw out,' to change habits. Because each year there costs at least three usual ones."

It is not from hearsay that the colonel knows about this. He also spent a large part of his life abroad under a stranger's name. In our conversation, as if off-handedly, he remarked: "If you meet me be accident abroad then it is by no means necessary to disclose our acquaintance..."

Such a surprise had once almost threatened to break off an important operation. Then, the colonel was going to a meeting in a small cafe, the "Green Cockatoo," on the outskirts of a large European city. There were not many people in the cozy room. On the left, at a table next to the wall, not far from the entrance, a man in a gray suit was sipping a beer and reading the Sunday supplement to the morning newspaper. The colonel recognized him at once, although they had not seen one another for seven years, and headed toward a neighboring empty table. Unexpectedly, from somewhere to the side, he heard the joyful cry of a child: "Uncle Volodya! How good..." Damn, what is this? He had not immediately noticed that a family of an employee at the Soviet Embassy was sitting in the depths of the room. Ten-year old Mashka had recognized him and, with childlike spontaneity, had broken away to greet him. Her father succeeded in grabbing her and, hugging her to himself, began to say something quickly in her ear.

The colonel, seeing all this out of the corner of his eye, did not raise an eyebrow, as if it did not concern him. He went to the most distant table, drank a mineral water, and left without having dropped a word.

"There was no time 'to recheck.' It was necessary to 'dissolve.' It was a good thing that I left my car two blocks from the cafe..." He went by taxi as far as a shopping center, walked through an underground passage way to an underground garage, rented a car using reserve documents in a different name, said he would leave the automobile at a pier the following day, paid, and drove out through the north exit. In practical terms, even if he was being surveilled, he was already beyond reach because, in the garage, the colonel had been the only customer in the garage at that moment and no car had followed him. Having driven away from the area, he

left the vehicle at a bank and boarded a bus... An hour later he phoned the garage and advised that he would not leave the car at the pier, but at the bank.

The meeting with the man in the gray suit took place the next day at a railroad station in accordance with a reserve plan. Several years later, in this same city, Shamil Khamzin also met with this same man, documented, let us say, as Kamil Said, a businessman and subject of one of the countries in Western Asia...

"Are all these efforts, risks, and expenses justified?"—I asked the colonel.

"I will cite only one of the assignments of Foreign Intelligence—to monitor military preparations abroad and not to miss preparations for a first strike. We know about the military plans of many countries in advance from primary sources. You will agree that this is always important, but especially now, when our country is not simply reducing its arms but is also pursuing an active, energetic policy of disarmament..."

#### In Prison

In the first half of the 1960's, Shamil was dispatched on a prolonged foreign mission. He was not supposed to go immediately to the place of his assignment—in one of the countries of Southeast Asia—but was to settle for a time in a third country, after some time there to meet his radio operator (according to his legend, his fiancée), to marry her, and with her to set out on his further itinerary. According to his documents, he came from a family of wealthy Uighurs who had long ago left Russia. Shamil knew the Uigur and Turkish languages to perfection and spoke English and Romanian well, not counting, of course, his native Tatar and Russian.

Everything went well in the beginning. Shamil's documents were reliable. He knew that in this foreign country, in one of the distant villages, a Kamil Said had, in fact, been born at one time. He even had the corresponding document, issued by the commune.

And so, Kamil Said arrived in the port city and moved into a hotel. He quickly struck up business acquaintances and two days later moved to a Tatar colony. After a couple more months he was already his own person there. Always ready to help out, generous by nature, attentive and well-mannered, Kamil enjoyed the sympathies of the colony. The director of a chapel, who was going away, even wanted to leave Kamil [in charge] instead of himself, but the latter refused under a suitable pretext.

It was precisely there, through the chapel director, that Kamil became acquainted by chance with a counterintelligence officer, the offspring of a Tatar family, who held a high post. They subsequently met often and talked about Tatar poetry and world affairs. Incidentally, the officer asked Shamil to work for him, but the latter joked his way out of this: What kind of counterintelligence officer would a businessman make?

"Listen," the officer once said to him, "if, as a businessman, you ever have any difficulties with a policeman, give him this parole, which I will write down for you: 'Yukha-55'."

"And what will happen?"—Kamil was interested to know.

"Yukha (a demon-like figure—V. G.) will protect you," the officer laughed.

Did he know about the arrest that was in preparation? It is difficult to say. Most likely not. He simply gave the parole out of friendly feelings. Three months after this conversation, two strongmen came to Kamil in the night and, having presented an order for his arrest, took him with them.

The cell was tiny—three paces long and two wide. Kamil immediately mentally baptized it the "stone bucket." An iron bed stood next to the wall; on it was a board covered by a mat. Kamil spent the night without sleep. Again and again, he "turned over" in his mind various situations and conversations during the past year and a half, trying to find disparities in his behavior, mistakes, and analyzed every step... But he did not find anything that could give reason for arrest. "O.K., Let's see what happens at the first interrogation," Kamil decided.

In the morning when it had become completely light, he sat down on the bed and lit up a cigarette. Immediately, the door opened and a hefty guard with the face of a gorilla rushed into the cell. He jerked Kamil up and with a powerful blow knocked him to the cement floor. Getting up, Kamil felt blood on his lips and something hard in his mouth. Holding himself up against the wall, he spit two teeth out onto the floor. And immediately received another blow. "If this goes on I will have nothing left," Kamil thought distractedly, as if about something extraneous.

"Call the chief," he rasped, once again slowly getting up from the floor. "I have something important to tell him."

The gorilla looked fiercely at Kamil, spat with relish at his feet, and closed the door. Soon they took Kamil to interrogation. The investigator, having noted in passing that it was not permitted to smoke in the cell, was interested in learning what the prisoner intended to tell him.

"I would like first of all to learn what I am accused of," Kamil requested.

The investigator was ready for this question:

"There is a basis for suspecting that you are an English spy. Do you admit this? And what important information did you want to tell us?"

"What kind of nonsense is this?" Kamil shrugged his shoulders. "In the village where I was born and spent my childhood, there are many people who can remember

me. All this is easy to check. And the important thing that I wanted to tell consists of a single phrase: Yukha fifty five."

"Where do you know this phrase from?"

Kamil looked calmly out the window. They took him back to his cell. He was not summoned again for interrogation and they began to feed him better. The gorilla did not resort to his fist, but also did not enter into conversation. On the outside, Kamil was completely calm, but alarm was growing in his soul. In about two weeks his radio operator was due to arrive, whom he was obligated to meet at the railroad station. If they did not let him out, what would she do in a foreign city? She did not have back-up communications, this he knew for certain...

How long would the checks last? Would they take him to the village, or call there by telephone? How would his acquaintance, the counterintelligence officer, react to his arrest? Of course, investigations would also be conducted in the Tatar colony. But there, it would seem, he had no enemies... The fact that they did not summon him to interrogation indicated that the parole had some kind of effect and that they, evidently, were making a investigation. But how long would all this last?

He understood that there was a ray of hope when the gorilla once hurled a packet of newspapers at him. "I knew that we would come to an understanding," Kamil said calmly.

A week later they released him, having explained that the arrest was a mistake. Six days remained until the arrival of his "fiance." All this time, Kamil repeatedly and carefully "checked himself"—he had no surveillance... We have already told you how his meeting with Irina went. Even now, her photograph in the bridal costume of a foreign country is preserved in their family album. This marriage, happily, turned out not to be a fictitious one, but at the same time there is something that is unreal...

### Operation 'Bowling'

"From time to time, the Western press reports about problems of our intelligence officers. Does this happen often? What is the fate of those who end up in prison?"—I asked the colonel.

"Flaps? They happen of course, but rather rarely. But nevertheless, don't forget that counterintelligence is working. And as regards the fate of our intelligence officers who end up in prison, then we do everything in order to get them out of there."

"By what means?"

"There is one way—exchange."

"Have you been successful in 'exchanging' all of them, or does somebody remain?"

"All, down to the last one. Our people know: We will not leave them in trouble."

"There are none of ours now in prison?"

"Nobody."

"And all the same, exchange—this is not a simple matter. How does it occur? In the West, for example, a great deal has been written about the exchange of our intelligence officer A. M. Kozlov, who was in prison in the UAR. How did he end up there? For whom was he exchanged?"

"Well, how did he get there? He made a mistake. In ordinary life we make a mass of mistakes, but for an intelligence officer one is sufficient. Kozlov had been working under another name in one of the European countries and had held a modest job in a firm that specialized in dry cleaning and pressing. Then he left for Africa. And here he had the role of a wealthy businessman. By accident, he caught sight of his former boss. He should have avoided a meeting or, in the worst event, should have explained that he had allegedly rented his expensive suit for one day for the sake of an important meeting. But he underestimated the danger and, smiling broadly, went up to the manager and conducted himself confidently and independently, as indeed befits a wealthy man. Such a metamorphosis surprised the manager, he reported this to counterintelligence, and thus the thread appeared..."

"In prison, they beat Kozlov, but this was not the most difficult thing. They added substances to his food which weakened him, paralyzed his will. After this, a person is not in control of himself."

"Did Kozlov know much?"

"Not very. Illegals in general try not to possess superfluous information that would be interesting to counterintelligence."

"For whom did they exchange him?"

"We proposed an American intelligence officer. The American services were agreeable to this. But UAR counterintelligence opposed it: What do you mean, they said, the Soviet and American sides will be the winners, but what about us? In the end, they traded a UAR [military] officer, who had been captured in Angola and had a high rank, along with the American intelligence officer for Kozlov."

"Is one of ours worth two or theirs?"

"That's the way it is."

"Where is Kozlov now?"

"He is working..."

[19 May 90 p 3]

[Text] After 35 years of work in Southeast Asia, Shamil Khamzin and Irina Alimova returned to the Motherland at the end of the 1960's. She retired, but he continued to work. For many years yet, he rambled around Western Asia and the Near East, lived on the American continent, travelled to the Western European countries... All this would have been extremely romantic and attractive if Khamzin had been travelling as a tourist. But he was taking part in an extremely complex operation with the somewhat strange code name "Bowling." The goal of the operation was to gather information about the development of the latest offensive weapons that could be used to carry out a first strike, and also about secret work to build the atomic bomb in those countries that did not have it.

...While still in Southeast Asia, Kamil Said (Shamil's documents and legend remained as before) became acquainted with the director of a department of one of the powerful transnational corporations which, along with its usual production, traditionally received important military orders. The chief of the department, we will call him Rashid Garbi, had lived for more than three years in the same East Asian country, not far from the cottage on the first floor of which Kamil Said's store was located. He frequently dropped in to visit him.

Once, Garbi admired a coat made of expensive fur. He advised that he did not have the amount needed right then.

"It's unimportant," said Kamil, "I will trust you for it. My business is not going badly, so that you don't have to hurry to pay back the money."

Rashid signed a receipt and took the coat. Later, there were other similar "purchases." Rashid also began to borrow money. The number of receipts already amounted to more than a dozen and a half.

One day, Kamil said to Garbi: "Listen, I have certain financial difficulties. Couldn't you return part of the loans?" The latter hopelessly spread his hands. And then Kamil, as if wavering, suggested:

"A certain business club is interested in your transactions. I do not think that this club is a competitor for your firm. And they would not pay badly for information, with which they in any case cannot do anything..."

Rashid quickly agreed. After a some time he asked Kamil: "Tell me, who are you working for? The secret information that you are asking for is not needed by an ordinary businessman. For Iran? Turkey?..."

Kamil hesitated:

"Russia..."

"I never would have dreamed it," said Rashid in amazement.

Their collaboration continued.

But, a year after this conversation, Rashid departed and contact with him was broken. And only much later did it become known that Garbi had, as they say, reached the top and had become one of the directors of the corporation, with access to top military secrets (the corporation made deliveries to many countries).

They decided to send Kamil Said, who was well acquainted with him, to contact Rashid. By that time, Khamzin had already returned to Moscow. The difficulty in this was that the meeting with Garbi was to be arranged in a country where there was not a single Soviet person. Kamil travelled there by a circuitous route—via Western Europe and the Near East.

...In Garbi's reception room, he told the good-looking secretary:

"I am Kamil Said, a businessman. Tell your boss."

"Is he expecting you?"

"No. I am passing through. But he knows me..."

Rashid Garbi gave the impression that he did not know Said.

"I would like to speak with you one-on-one," Kamil said politely.

"I have no secrets from my deputy," Garbi said dryly.

"On the other hand, I do," Kamil parried.

"I cannot be of any help," said Rashid with set teeth.

Why had Garbi not accepted contact? Confident of his invulnerability? Or something else?

"On 16 March, Garbi is flying to London," the colonel told Khamzin. "It is necessary to fly there and begin everything from the beginning..."

Kamil put up in London (using other documents) in the comfortable Kingsley Hotel, not far from Oxford Street, a shopping street with many people. Three days later, at 11 o'clock in the evening, he called from a public phone to another hotel, to the luxury room reserved for Garbi. Kamil knew that he had arrived by plane three hours earlier.

"Greetings, dear friend," said Kamil as if nothing had happened. "This is Kim (This is what Americans had called him in the South East). I forgot to give you something last time. I did not want to send it to your headquarters. I will be waiting for you in forty minutes on the corner of Regent Street and Oxford Street, on the left side. Until we meet!"

And he hung up. This was a risky step, but Kamil believed that Garbi would nonetheless come.

He got into a light gray Ford, rented, and drove without hurrying past an endless row of glittering store windows to Regent Street. By this time, there were not many

people there and he at once spotted Garbi's familiar figure in a light raincoat. He turned left, braked, and opened the door.

"Hello, Garbi!"

The latter glanced around and quickly headed for the car.

"Get in on the left, next to me," said Kamil. "It will be more comfortable for us this way..."

They drove for several minutes in silence.

"And I had thought that you had completely forgotten old friends," said Kamil. "There, in the South, you were not very polite."

"At first, it seemed to me that it wasn't you, but a double," drawled Garbi thoughtfully. "Indeed, there's not a single person from your country there. My first thought: Somebody is checking on me. And you have changed greatly... And then it was already late to change the game."

"Listen, Rashid, I am going to say things to you which may seem naive or like ordinary textbook maxims. But you listen anyway. In today's Cold War situation, the world can be saved only under conditions of weapons parity. Agreed? I understand, the arms race provides large profits for your firm, but a real war would have unpredictable consequences. And therefore, we need to know what new offensive weapons are being developed, which new countries want to create their own atomic bomb..."

They got out at Picadilly Circus. Garbi was silent. And only on the other side of the Thames did Garbi announce:

"I agree. I could tell you something right now. For example, about plans for the development of an atomic bomb in Israel and the UAR. This is one of the highest secrets these countries have. But for more detailed information about this, and also concerning a number of offensive weapons projects of the NATO countries, time is necessary..."

"O.K. Let's talk now about communications and everything else. I know that you aren't pinched for money now. But nevertheless, I would like to make you a small present..."

Garbi's information about new types of weapons had very great importance for our country, for increasing its defensive capabilities. And as regards the development of an atomic bomb in a number of countries, then information is only now beginning to leak out in the press that we had many years ago..

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"And if she said that she did not recognize you?"—I asked the colonel.

"I would be outwardly very surprised. What? This is a mother and she doesn't recognize her own son? I would ask those around her—Is Mama in good health? And then I would go to the hotel in order to fetch a family photograph of us, taken about 20 years before... A 20 minute ride from the settlement, at a road fork, another car was waiting for me. The man sitting in it had been supplied with reserve documents for me specifically for this case. We would take the daily flight to Paris, with a stopover in Rome..."

The colonel spoke simply, in a offhanded way, although this was one of those daring operations, the risk of which went to the maximum permissible limit. The directors of the Committee [KGB] and of Foreign Intelligence wavered for a long time before giving their agreement to carry it out.

...Not very far from the capital of one of the southern countries, in a settlement where everybody knows everybody else, there lived an ordinary family without much money. Twenty years earlier the eldest son had established himself in a European firm and, for the first period of time, had sent money orders and gifts and had come home several times. But for the past 16 years there had been neither hide nor hair of him. Where was he? Nobody in the village knew this. In fact, he had died, and this became known by accident to our intelligence personnel. Then an idea also arose: The colonel was outwardly very similar to the dead man and knew the language perfectly—why not try?

The idea belonged to the colonel, but was not a source of enthusiasm. "A mother always knows her son," they objected to him.

"Of course she knows," agreed the colonel. But will she say aloud that this is not her son? Just imagine: a small settlement, a poor family, the rest of the people. Suddenly a rich, successful man arrives, with presents, in a beautiful automobile. Those near to her recognize him as her son (and I look like him), word flies ahead (I will, of course, first call on the village elder). The villagers will describe to my fictitious mother my expensive suit, the packages on the back seat of the car... And so, she will see that it is not her son that has come, but this rich gentleman who for some reason considers her to be his mother. And everyone agrees with him. Will she protest? A backward, benighted woman—to all of society and to the rich man with the gifts?

The colonel insisted on his plan. In actuality, everything fell in place down to the smallest detail. But there was also one acute moment. When they led him to the mother, several women were sitting on a bench, with veils over their faces. "Which of them is my new mother?"—the colonel thought in agony. Suddenly, one of the women went down on her knees and said: "Greetings my son, Allah be praised that I have recognized you..."

The colonel repaired the roof on the little house, put up a new fence, passed out the presents (all at the expense of

the West European firm, one of the directors of which was a colleague of the colonel). After three days the colonel left for Europe. He spent many years there and became director of a large firm. The information passed by him is secret even now. I will say only that he was the first to report on the plan for "Star Wars," or, as they now say, the "Strategic Defense Initiative," long before official accounts appeared.

...And the colonel's new "mother" received gifts on holidays up until her end (she died several years ago).

\* \* \*

Khamzin's leave (his second in 18 years) ended ahead of schedule,

"Forgive me, Shamil," said the colonel, "but we have here such a coincidence of circumstances... You will have to fly first to the United States, then to Europe, if, of course, you do not object. The assignment is of particular importance..."

[20 May 90, p 4]

[Text] What was being talked about was obtaining information on the establishment of new foreign military bases in countries bordering the Soviet Union, and also on new military doctrines of the leading capitalist countries (special attention was devoted to the question of whether the possibility was considered of carrying out a first strike).

"There is not much need to talk," noted Shamil. "When do I go?"

...Exactly three weeks after his conversation with the colonel, he arrived in the evening in Salt Lake City, the administrative center of the state of Utah in the West of the United States. He put up in a hotel. At about 11 o'clock the telephone rang unexpectedly.

"Mister Voronkov?"—a thick male voice asked. In just this way: not Voronkof, but almost in Russian, with a russian "v" at the end.

"You have made a mistake," Shamil answered calmly in English, and hung up.

The strange call perplexed him. There was too much in all this that was incomprehensible. Was it really a mistake? But the Russian name, unusual for Americans, the late hour, the Russian accent... Shamil knew that here, in the state of Utah, he would be alone, without his colleagues. And he had to make the decision himself. To postpone the operation? To continue? To change his hotel? He recalled his itinerary. Neither in Hong Kong, nor in Madrid, nor in New York, nor in Washington had he had any contacts with any of our intelligence officers. He also had not noticed any surveillance.

A second question—his documents. They were authentic, irreproachable. Here, also, everything was fine. In Washington, incidentally, Shamil had dropped

into the embassy of the third country whose citizen he was according to his documents and had a long meeting with a counselor—a long-time acquaintance of his from back in Southeast Asia. He had not sensed anything alarming... No, there was no basis to terminate the operation, at least at this stage. But, in any case, it was necessary to change his hotel.

Shamil paid, having given advance notice that he was leaving in the morning and that he would have little time. He returned to his room, took his suitcase and descended via the emergency exit. On the street he turned the corner and took the third taxi. The vehicle drove through empty streets; there was no surveillance... And to this day he does not know what the mysterious telephone call was. A mistake? A surprising confluence of circumstances?

The state of Utah is well-known as one of the centers of missile construction. Kamil Said, a businessman from Southeast Asia, was to make the "accidental acquaintance" of a specialist from Europe (we will call him Michel DeGrand), who intended to fly home soon. Information was available in Moscow that this specialist was in possession of important information concerning questions of great interest to Intelligence. He, incidentally, did not approve of the renewed heating up of the Cold War at the end of the 1970's, believing that sooner or later it could develop into "hot" one that would destroy life on Earth.

At first glance, the problem facing Shamil was not very difficult: to become acquainted with Michel and to win his confidence. But this is simple only in the eyes of a dilettante. Any professional knows how complicated, dangerous, and difficult such an assignment is.

Shamil knew that DeGrand was an inveterate tennis player. And he decided to use this to make his acquaintance.

About ten supporters were standing alongside the tennis court where Michel DeGrand was playing. After the second game, Shamil announced that he was establishing a prize for the winner—one hundred dollars. This produced general animation. Michel flew about the court with his racket and played like a god. He won five games; one he lost. And flushed, still full of the excitement of the duel, happy and joyous, he invited everyone to the closest bar in order to "wash down" the hundred dollars received there.

In the bar, Kamil Said and Michel DeGrand not only became acquainted but also quickly found a common language. Said explained that he, as a businessman, would like to invest capital in a promising business, possibly in the military-industrial sphere, here or in another place, and in this connection it was important for him to have the advice of a knowledgeable specialist.

"The firm will not be stingy in paying for the services of a consultant," Said stressed. "Wouldn't you undertake this matter?"

Michel agreed at once. They decided to discuss the more detailed conditions the following day. The next day over dinner everything was arranged.

"Listen, Michel," Kamil said over desert, "the firm arranges this money through a certain research center, more correctly, through its closed sector, which is engaged in questions of future conditions. Our people also work there. I do not want to talk particularly about details, but the main thing is that the money being paid to you will not be registered anywhere. Therefore, I am not certain whether it is worth your reporting it in your income statement."

"This is worth thinking about," muttered DeGrand.

The first questions were not very complicated—where was it more profitable to invest capital, in the mining industry, nonferrous metallurgy, or missile construction? Every suggestion provoked more questions, but DeGrand handled this: For his consultations, he regularly received decent honoraria. Michel soon flew off to Europe and Kamil Said was sent there as well on firm business.

They decided to spend about a week together in a luxurious hotel on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. It was specifically there that Shamil learned about plans for the establishment of a large military air and missile base in one of the southern countries bordering on the Soviet Union.

"Here is a really promising matter," said Michel, reporting detailed data about the future base.

The personal file of Intelligence Colonel Shamil Abdul-lazyanovich Khamzin (a large number of folders with the inscription "Khalef"—Khamzin's pseudonym—in rectangular cardboard cases) contains the most curious documents. Here there are general staff studies about prospective military confrontation with the USSR, tactical technical data developed abroad concerning strategic and other missiles, plans for military operations in the course of regional military conflicts, the goals and objectives of industrial espionage in the USSR and a number of East European countries, and much more...

This year, Sh. A. Khamzin will be 75 years old. About 40 of these he devoted to Intelligence. He was born in Arkhangelsk, into a Tatar family. In 1923 the family moved to Kazan (they lived at No. 45 Pravobulachnaya Ulitsa). Having finished school, Shamil entered the Leningrad electrotechnical institute imeni V.I. Ulyanov (Lenin), in the faculty of "Instrument Building." The theme of his diploma work was: "The Control of Torpedo Boats by Radio from an Airplane." He earned his diploma as an electrical engineer near the end of the War. He worked in a military plant in Moscow, where he was also accepted into the party. It was later proposed to Khamzin that he transfer to work in the NKVD, in the Foreign Intelligence Directorate. He again started to study, this time in a special school without a sign...

### Where is the Limit of Human Strength?

...The colonel did not answer the question immediately. He looked out the window at the high blue April sky, then at me, as if doubting, evaluating, whether I would understand him, whether in general any person not connected with this work could feel, sense, imagine what an intelligence officer lives through "there," far from his homeland, from friends, every second watching every step he takes, without the right to a mistake, the anger, the dejection...

"Really, has nobody ever broken down? It is difficult to believe this," I said to the colonel.

He again fell silent, sighed, his face grew dark. It was the first time I saw him like this.

"They have, of course. This is how you define the limit of human strength..."

"Have breakdowns been frequent?"

"Two cases over many decades."

"Even today, you can't tell about this?"

"There is nothing special to tell. Here it is necessary to understand with your heart... You know the saying 'to fall prey to melancholy...' So, 'there' this simply often turns into a tiger... One day we received a report that in such and such house, where our man was living, Russian songs were sometimes heard. It didn't enter our heads that he was the one who was putting on the records. But nevertheless we decided to check. It turned out that, indeed, it was he who was playing them, when I couldn't stand it any longer—he later admitted, already back in Moscow. We recalled him, of course. He worked within the apparatus and recently retired."

"And the second case?"

"This was more complicated. A man became ill, did not hold out psychologically."

"And what happened?"

"He was no longer able to return home by himself. It was necessary to go there. He knew me personally and for a very long time. When he saw me he smiled and said: Well, thank God, Volodya, with you everything will be fine for me." But I thought: It will be dangerous to fly out of here by plane. He has poor control of himself. And we 'sawed our way' across all of Europe in a car."

"Where is he now?"

"Retired. He has recovered. We sometimes meet..."

"Does it happen that somebody despairs of the profession of intelligence officer and leaves you?"

"As a rule the people who come to us are obsessed, they wholeheartedly love their business. Here you cannot 'leave' your work and in any case there would be no sense. An intelligence officer—this is a calling. And, of

course, there is an understanding of the importance, of the necessity of your work for the country. This is a source of selflessness, courage, a willingness to take risks... Of course, not everybody can be made into an intelligence officer and there is a certain dropout during the training stage. But only one person has left us voluntarily. This was recently. He left for a cooperative. None of us objected..."

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Real intelligence officers are unwilling to talk about themselves and their work. They prefer more to remain in the shadows, to live unnoticed. The profession demands this. Perhaps therefore our country until recently has not pampered its intelligence officers with awards.

Many of our outstanding intelligence officers, having worked a long time abroad, having given their health and strength to this most dangerous and difficult work, return to their homeland with only a small suitcase and must begin many things here practically from zero. They frequently encounter disorder in their everyday lives and material difficulties—this is after all that they have done for the country...

For his work as an Illegal, Sh. A. Khamzin was awarded only the decoration of "Honored Worker of USSR State Security" and one order of the Labor Red Banner... It seems to me that now, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of Soviet Intelligence, it might be possible to note in a more worthy way the services of Sh. A. Khamzin, I. K. Alimova, and the many other of our intelligence officers, of our true heroes, who deserve high public recognition.

### MVD Alcohol-Drug Addict Work-Treatment Program

90UN1700A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
28 Apr 90 First Edition p 6

[Interview with Internal Service Colonel R. Volzhanin, department head of the RSFSR MVD LTP, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "'Bitter' Medicine"]

[Text] To a significant extent, crime and antisocial behaviors are fueled by alcoholism and drug addiction. Because of this, the medical aspect to the prevention of these phenomena takes on special meaning, and specific problems arise. This is the subject of our correspondent's conversation with the department head of the LTP (work-treatment program) of the RSFSR MVD, Internal Service Colonel R. Volzhanin.

[Correspondent] Rudolf Sergeyevich, lately people have been talking a great deal and unambiguously about LTP, in the past virtually a closed topic. Certain organs of the press have given their readers contradictory information about these institutions. I won't say there has been intellectual ferment, but questions, obviously, remain. Let's try to answer at least some of them.



[Volzhanin] For starters, as they say, about the LTP genealogy. LTP for the compulsory treatment and labor reeducation of chronic alcoholics and drug addicts was organized within the USSR MVD system in the 1960s and in the RSFSR in 1968. Here I would like to make what I feel is an important point: LTP was never under the Health Ministry, as certain publications have asserted. Starting from this premise, they go even farther, to the effect that when matters were in medical hands everything was fine. But then they were transferred to the "scarlet workers in epaulettes" and the abuses began. This is pure conjecture.

[Correspondent] How and on what grounds might someone wind up in LTP?

[Volzhanin] Only by express order of a people's court. This category includes able-bodied individuals disinclined to seek voluntary treatment in the health care organs. The court's order is issued primarily on the basis of the medical opinion of a commission of the health care organs. It can be protested by a prosecutor through oversight procedures.

[Correspondent] In this connection, what is the social cross-section, so to speak, of the individuals in LTP?

[Volzhanin] Unfortunately, to use legal language, LTP has all too few law-abiding citizens. More than half have served prison sentences in the past. Of these, in turn, half have been tried two times or more. Upon entry into LTP, 10 per cent have not worked for three months to a year or more and 10 per cent have no permanent place of residence. About 40 per cent have previously undergone compulsory treatment. Of the women in the LTPs, one third have lost parental privileges.

[Correspondent] Yes, this is a no-nonsense group. I guess they have to be kept under guard?

[Volzhanin] This is true, alas. LTP security and oversight is carried out by security subdivisions of the internal forces. I have to say that this duty is anything but easy.

[Correspondent] Orders are orders. But the main thing, after all, I imagine, is still the treatment, i.e., bringing the person back to a normal psychophysiological condition?

[Volzhanin] Naturally. Special treatment is conducted on the basis of orders and recommendations from the USSR Health Ministry. All methodologies for the treatment of alcoholism undertaken for the ordinary population are applied in LTP as well. Moreover, I will say that the medical foundation for LTP is frequently better than in many rayon and even oblast hospitals. The only difference is that our medical officers are working in what are closer to "combat" conditions, shall we say, unlike their colleagues in the Health Ministry. Although, for instance, they get 15 days' less vacation. And their goal is far from simple—to stop someone on the edge of the abyss and ideally to help him shake off a chronic ailment once and for all.

[Correspondent] Taking the word "work" from the LTP acronym, evidently our wards' labor is not recompensed?

[Volzhanin] That's not true. The average earnings for one day of work in the first quarter of the current year, for example, came to 8 rubles, 70 kopeks. Naturally, not for everyone, only for those who truly want to work.

[Correspondent] Is upkeep in the LTP free?

[Volzhanin] No. Those in it pay out 30 per cent of their earnings for partial coverage of program expenses. For some reason many people assume that this money goes into the MVD's "pocket." In truth, it gets sent to the state budget. Now, under the impact of individual unprofessional publications, demands have begun to be heard in LTP: "Cancel all withholdings!" I think this is an incorrect statement of the question.

[Correspondent] It is easy to guess, of course, that life in these institutions is no paradise. "Bitter" medicine, so to speak. In LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of 18 April 1990 there was material entitled "Strike in LTP."

[Volzhanin] They went overboard there, of course. Even the concept of an LTP strike is inapplicable. The people held here have concluded no contract whatsoever with the administration. The people's court sent them to the program, and on the whole the abovementioned publication is essentially provoking illegal actions by chronic alcoholics, inciting them to reckless deeds, even to crime. I'm not even talking about the vast economic loss such manifestations entail. After that publication, by the way, demands were heard in many LTPs for the immediate transfer of these institutions to the Health Ministry. Collective telegrams on this score were sent to the Supreme Soviet. However, today the opinion of the Health Ministry itself is this: we have enough trouble as it is with law-abiding citizens.

Nevertheless, specialists feel that LTP legislation needs to be changed. Corresponding bills are already in the works and will be examined according to established procedure. It is being proposed to establish legislatively that the LTPs are used only for individuals who have been neglected medically, having exhausted all treatment possibilities in the health care organs, and to specify that one of the tasks of the LTPs is crime prevention.

At the same time we are working on drafts for RSFSR documents on LTP issues. In March of this year the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet issued a decree about the possibility of introducing a special status in LTP for individuals with a positive attitude toward treatment and labor, up to and including their residing off the territory of the LTP, working without guard, and so forth. I think that these and other measures can do a lot to strengthen law and order within LTP and thus ease the individual's way toward full recovery and rehabilitation.

### Conditions in Corrective Labor Institutions Censured

90UN1795A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 90 p 2

[Article by D. Shevchenko: "The Sovereign Zone, or the Unequal Struggle of Major Komarov"]

[Text] About 30 years ago in the steppe near the Ukrainian city of Valakleya, the construction of a farm penal colony was begun.

Within a few weeks, a small section of fertile soil was surrounded with barbed wire, wooden watch towers sprouted up overnight among the weeds, and long barracks and Ukrainian clay-walled cottages with palings for the officers grew up.

The brigade of prisoners arrived. In the same shock tempo, the prisoners erected the farm structures: a cowshed, a pigsty, and a grain procurement station. The officers and their wives held a housewarming party and set about improving their cozy new housing area.

The zone, unlike kolkhozes—without reference to the weather conditions, was immediately written into the plan.

In a year the first harvest was gathered and the plan assignment for meat and milk was fulfilled.

The uninitiated person would never guess that behind these peaceful wheat fields where men stripped to the waist rhythmically swung their scythes, behind this straw covered farm where every evening the cowherders herded the cows, behind the repair shop—everywhere in secluded places the security and control service was on watch—soldiers with automatic weapons.

They say that someone in the managerial offices did not like this idyllic shepherd's lifestyle. The order came down: Reorganize the colony.

The innocent livestock went under the knife, the equipment sadly moved to a neighboring farm, the land which had already been sown again became overgrown with weeds. The well-situated officers began to complain.

Soon the administration chief arrived with a detailed plan for reorganizing the colony. This was the plan: In the coming year, shops of an industrial enterprise and stone houses for the collective would grow up here—the age of industrialization was at hand. However, the pigsty and gardens would remain...

Without too much thought, it was decided that the future settlement would be called Oktyabrskiy.

Heavy dump trucks arrived from the rayon center, loaded with lumber and rubble, brick and roofing metal. Reinforcements arrived from other places of confinement. Gradually, within the enclosed space removed from population centers, there began to arise, as it should be, two collectives—the prisoners and the guards.

In 1975 the prisoners rioted from hunger on this generous Ukrainian soil. They burned down the compound and caused many problems for the Army unit which arrived here. The soldiers had to seek new reliable shelters from which they could fire without risk to their lives.

That year became noted for one other event: A new commandant was appointed to the colony—Ivan Fedorovich Kiyko, a firm and forceful man. His task was to eradicate the remnants of willfulness in the zone, to suppress the very thought of resistance, and to strengthen the morale of the officers.

Ivan Fedorovich's first order of business was to appoint his wife as one of the key personnel. Nepotism was condemned in the outside free world, but here it proved quite appropriate. And so it went: The husband was deputy chief of regiment, the wife—a bookkeeper; he was chief of the operative unit, she—chief of the planning department; the officer was assistant chief watch officer of the colony, and the officer's wife—a staff worker.

Kiyko's innovation led to a situation where the entire colony was interlaced from top to bottom with love for a dear one and mutual guarantee. They were officers, and they became fathers-in-law, Godparents, wives and sisters-in-law. Where there is mutual guarantee, there are also cases of arbitrarily leaving one's duty post, drunkenness, and embezzlement.

Thievery became rampant at the Oktyabrskiy. The "wet-nurse" zone supplied its sons in service with lumber and fittings, roofing slate and bedsheets. Thus, heated, roomy quarters for the officers sprang up "out of nowhere". There were wrought iron fences around the houses, and fashioned metallic gates. Thus, in many apartments there appeared color televisions which were in short supply then (as they are now), and which were intended for the political education work rooms...

Then suddenly, to this happy inner-military family an ill wind blew in a stranger—a 32-year old officer, former boxing trainer Yuriy Aleksandrovich Komarov, a broad-shouldered, unsmiling man. He had a single fixed notion: That the people who had done wrong must become tempered and trained in the zone, so as to survive their imprisonment with dignity and upon their release to freedom to be at the peak of their strength and health.

The new arrival Makarenko (this was in 1982) evoked a friendly smirk in the guard collective. Komarov, however, having familiarized himself with the situation in Oktyabrskiy, was saddened. He found himself surrounded by people who drink, are cruel, and lead a purposeless life.

And what about the prisoners? They sauntered around the area in shorts or warm-up pants. Things even got so bad that recently one of the prisoners struck the assistant chief of regiment on the face. Another, bearing a tattoo reading "slave of the CPSU" on his neck, swore at the

camp leaders. Everyone was used to this. The colony was filthy and louse-ridden. Every year there was an epidemic of dysentery. Drugs, foodstuffs, and cologne flew over the barbed wire into the camp. There were 30-40 such "tosses" daily. Many of the guards had been bribed.

Komarov proved to have a tenacious and deleterious character. He had a tendency toward making comments and complaints about the leadership. At first Ivan Fedorovich Kiyko shrugged off Komarov, ignoring his reports about the shocking things which were going on. Then gradually, like most of the colony workers, he began to hate the major—"informant". And what was going on in his detachment? He had brought weights, parallel bars and horizontal bars into the camp. He was jogging in formation with the prisoners on the athletic field. Where was the regimen, where was order?

Nevertheless, Komarov's detachment gradually captured all the prizes in the socialist competition and surpassed everyone in fulfilling the plan. The prisoners became attached to their leader instead of being afraid of him. "Yuriy Aleksandrovich, when will we have another training session?" What training session?, the officers asked indignantly. Why, prisoners have always had only one form of training exercise: "touch your toes".

He, Komarov, should have stopped and listened to the murmurs of his colleagues and the voice of reason. No, Komarov began to expose. In writing. He began to "tattle" to the oblast administration. Just think, in a militia collective there was one who tattled on his own! What nonsense, what senselessness.

And what did he "tattle" about? That the chief of the commissary unit was the often-tried Bondarenko, that the chief of the communal construction section was also the former criminal Dratver, as were the chief of the motor pool, and the deputy chief bookkeeper, the chief of the storehouse and the chief of the pig farm. Yet all these people had been placed by Kiyko into materially responsible positions. The investigative commission which soon arrived studied everything carefully. They ate a tasty lunch, and then they went back where they came from.

Yet Komarov was not satisfied. His next report to the oblast administration analyzed the fact that the tens of thousands of rubles allocated for construction of residential houses for the officers was only enough to erect the walls. The roofs and everything else had to be built at their own expense. Where had the money gone?

Furthermore, why had the prisoner Rudvitskiy and certain others ended up in the "summer house" of the colony director in the role of servants and washerwomen, laundering his clothes and serving sweets to the members of the household?

The commission once again came to lunch.

Last year, when the colony was already completely falling apart and a new riot was ready to break out, the

regular commission of the UVD [Internal Affairs Administration] finally "uncovered the shortcomings" in Kiyko's work. The chief submitted an application to be placed on retirement.

Komarov celebrated the victory. However, as is often the case, his celebration was premature...

The institution where Major Komarov works is called the general regimen zone. This means that those confined here are petty thieves and hooligans, drug addicts and drivers who caused accidents. They are generally young people, and almost all are first-time offenders. It is a known fact that most of those sentenced believe their imprisonment to be illegal or erroneous. Yet once Komarov was leafing through the materials of several criminal cases and became convinced that the court in fact was not always right. This upset him.

Here are the case histories of two former kolkhoz farmers (we will call them Ivan and Vasiliy) who received 3 years each of general regimen confinement.

Ivan's case history is brief. His motor died in the field—the battery had discharged. He was not able to get another. Batteries are hard to get. In order to fulfill the plan, Ivan secretly "borrowed" the battery from a nearby tractor operator...

The other farm resident—Vasiliy, stole a can of chlorophos from the kolkhoz warehouse to treat the Colorado potato beetle in his own garden. The perpetrator (by that time the father of three children) was sent away.

Six months later a telegram arrived at the camp: Two of Vasiliy's sons, aged 9 and 10, who had been left home alone without adult supervision, had been burned to death. Komarov ran to the commandant and asked that the man be given several days leave. After all, his children had been killed.

"Go see the oblast procurator," suggested Kiyko. "After all, you like going over people's heads..."

The procurator gave his permission, and then freed Vasiliy altogether (along with 5 others with similarly harsh sentences for minor infractions which are usually punishable by fines).

The retired Kiyko was replaced by Ivan Alekseyevich Zamaziy.

Here is an excerpt from Komarov's letter to KOMSO-MOLKA in February of this year: "At first our new commandant really did bring about order in the colony. The prisoners began walking in formation and not as a herd. They began to dress neatly and say hello. Zamaziy eliminated nepotism and protectionism. And when one of the detachments announced a strike and did not turn out for work, the chief was able to do without billy clubs and handcuffs. He simply came to the zone and reasoned with the fellows in a human manner. I had begun to gain respect for the new chief."

However, the first case of a humane attitude toward the prisoners also became the last. The order recently issued regarding the application of "special means" was perceived by most of the colony as a gift. Zamaziy immediately changed. Then it began: For any infraction—handcuffs, and often even the club which left no marks...

Instead of the promised new store and bath house, there arose a two-story separate house with built-on garage—for Zamaziy. I, of course, understand that he has to live somewhere. After all, he did come from somewhere else. But why like this?

Does this mean that everything is beginning all over again?

I also cannot forget the following case. Many in the camp will tell you about it. As a punishment, prisoner Shch. had his arms bent behind his back, "swallow-fashion", as they say, and handcuffed in this position. As he screamed in pain, the officer placed a microphone up to his face so that everyone in the camp could hear the screams over the loudspeaker, as a warning...

Do not think that I am a malicious person. It is probably not Zamaziy and not Kiyko who are at fault, but rather our system, which stubbornly selects cruel, uncharitable and bad people for leadership positions in our penal colonies. Those who fail to see a living person in a prisoner. I cannot and will not treat a prisoner than way. I refused to take a rubber club."

For an officer of the interior service to refuse special equipment specified in the regulations is an act of mutiny.

My arrival in Valakleya was perceived as a usual reaction to the signal by the "tattler" Komarov, may he be cursed.

"Komarov? That double-dealer! Under the guise of a vacation he went to Moscow to complain to the MVD," the colony commander Ivan Alekseyevich Zamaziy began the conversation. "They told me over the agency line. He is collecting compromising information about me, even among the prisoners. And there it is—here you are. There is disorder in his detachment. He emphasizes only 'negativism'. Moreover, you may write down that he is a careerist. He wants to become the zampolit [assistant political unit commander], and so he is striving for popularity... He shouts at the meetings... You know, I will tell you secretly, there is something mentally wrong with him. Megalomania, perhaps? He says (they told me so) that if things are not done his way, he will stage a hunger strike or hang himself... He is supported by a small group of people who are foreign to our cause—Ananyev, Mogilevskiy, well, and also the director of the school, what's his name—Dvirnyy..."

"Who are these people?"

"I will tell you only about Dvirnyy. Before the school he was a party worker, but he was fired. For what? He called together the young fellows in his apartment and told them vile things—about the country, about the party,

and about our order. I, of course, did not hear this myself, but I have reliable information. He also got buddy-buddy with Komarov. Komarov also ended up badly: The communists rejected his application for CPSU membership..."

"Yet Komarov's detachment is among the best according to your own records and reports."

"And why is this? The work in the detachment is easy. They make switches. Yet the political education level and the discipline could not be worse..."

It is true about the rejection of acceptance to the ranks of the CPSU. Moreover, they decided to put pressure on the "defamer" and held something like an officer's court of honor. What did the adherents of the latter have to say at it?

"It has gotten to the point that Major Komarov discusses with the prisoners the correctness of using straitjackets and handcuffs. He expresses his own ideas on this matter..." (A. Vustyanov, colony assistant duty officer).

"As for Komarov's trips to the MVD with various complaints, as well as his preparation of letters to newspapers and journals, I view this as a direct violation of officer's ethics and as behavior unbecoming a candidate for membership in the CPSU". (V. Yampolskiy, assistant chief of the political unit institution).

"He is a disorganizer of the colony's activity, an enemy of perestroyka... He slings mud at the entire collective of associates, and the prisoners make skillful use of this". (I. Zamaziy, chief of the institution).

Komarov was not accepted for party membership. However, of the communists present at the meeting, 32 voted in favor of acceptance, 15 were opposed, and 9 abstained (he did not get the vote of two-thirds of those present, and many were absent). It is curious: Komarov was defended by... the former chief of the colony, Kiyko.

The gorkom party commission considered the results of the voting and Komarov's rejection to be invalid and scheduled a new meeting. "We are not children," responded Zamaziy. "The deed has been done".

During my trip I met with many of those who support Komarov: With Senior Lieutenant Vashevskiy, Engineers Mikhachenko and Tkachenko, Lieutenant Lysenko, and Captains Ananyev and Yakovlev. All of them said unanimously: Komarov is being persecuted for his criticism. Yet he is a man that the colony needs, an honest and upright man, with his own program for humanizing the ITU [correctional-labor institution].

The above-mentioned Nikolay Mikhaylovich Dvirnyy, director of the secondary school in the colony, is also a friend and supporter of Yuriy Komarov. His fate is unusual even for our unusual time, and deserves a few lines.

He was a commentator (and a very successful and popular one) on Ukrainian television. However, he left his prestigious work in the capital and decided to live and work among the people, in the heartland. He got a job as a librarian in Balakley rayon. Here they immediately evaluated his worth and took him to the raykom to head up the public opinion study sector. However, the raykom did not like the reviews of public opinion performed by Dvirnyy, and he was offered his current position. He agreed. This is where he became friends with Komarov.

"We dreamed of turning the zone from a conveyor of crime into a place from which criminals emerge as people. We wanted to subject it to the control of public opinion," he told me sourly.

The leadership of the colony (as well as the raykom) did not like Dvirnyy's ideas. He was forbidden at first to work in Komarov's detachment, and then also in the colony's council of educators. The grounds for this was that he let the prisoners read the book by Orwell, "Animal Farm"...

Mutiny by an officer of the internal service against the orders in corrective-labor institutions is not a very common occurrence today. Those who have been sentenced revolt, prisoners rise up, perhaps since the times of Spartacus. But the overseers?

If such a thing did happen, the zone carefully covered up this shame, and the deviants were quickly moved to the proper side of the barbed wire.

Nevertheless, recent years have shed much light, as it is fashionable to say today—the light of glasnost, on that which is going on beyond the barbed wire. It was not happening during the cult of personality and the time of stagnation, but it is happening now. Lawlessness continues to be the only means of existence for most prisoners, and the very notion that rights and laws are mandatory for the ITU does not even occur to many people.

Having learned the truth about the horrors of our camps and jails from Shalamov, Solzhenitsyn, Dombrovskiy and other chroniclers, in our flood of emotions and confusion we have somehow forgotten to ask ourselves the simple question: Where did all this go? Did it vanish with the first ray of the democratized sun?

Alas, the Gulag, having changed its name, has not disappeared and evaporated. It has remained whole, having changed its colors. It still operates. The political prisoners have been freed, yet the Gulag was devised not only for them, for those who think differently. It was devised primarily as a means of returning and revitalizing slave labor. And in this lies its criminality, its primary fault before the entire world.

Here countless millions of people lived and died for decades. We do not know how many.

Just as we do not know exactly how many live here today. The figures are unknown to the broad circle of society, which leaves room for conjecture.

Has the Sovereign Zone changed? It is difficult for me to compare it with the 30's. I was not alive then. However, that which I saw with my own eyes in the several current ITUs which I visited on assignment from the editors horrifies me, since these are truly cattle yards.

It is a gulag.

We may say as much as we like, including also from high tribunes, that in our democratic time the motives and content of punishment have changed. That the current ITU, unlike the past, are a legitimate means of society's struggle with a growing crime rate.

The question is—what kind of struggle?

Why do we not associate the increase in crime with what is going on behind the barbed wire? After all, it is specifically from there that creatures return to life who have tasted medieval violence. They have been morally crippled to the end of their days, and in turn cripple those around them. There are people serving in the zone and receiving public money for their efforts who differ little even today from the classic camp overseers.

Tens of thousands of true servants of the Sovereign zone and hundreds of thousands of its prisoners are firmly preserving the gulag microclimate, and its dank wind still blows and blows throughout the country.

It is a good thing that the Komarovs are finally emerging. It is too bad that there are still few of them.

...There are several recipes for perestroika, argued programs for radical economic reform and social transformation of our society which has suffered so much. They are being published in the newspapers, resound in the pre-electoral speeches, and are debated at parliamentary tribunes.

I do not know which model for emerging from the crisis the country will choose. I only know one thing: No model will be able to stand side by side with the Sovereign Zone.

### **Computerized Technology to Assist Moscow Militia**

90UN1742A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Davidyants: "The Hot Trail"]

[Text] On one Moscow street, a criminal attacked a woman, grabbed her purse, and fled. The victim quickly finds a phone booth and convulsively dials 02...

On the opposite end of the city, a man calls the militia. He left home for a little while, he gets back, and the apartment door is broken in. A "house burglar" has taken the videocassette recorder and disappeared.

Nor did the Zhiguli owner have any luck. He left the vehicle at a store, gets back in 5 minutes, and someone had made off with it. A call right away to the "02" service about the loss.

Similar incidents: The militia received "crime information" immediately. There is chance to begin the investigation while the trail is hot. Yet in the meantime, precious time is being lost: The shortage of modern technology is hampering the rapid response system in the Moscow militia. Even though they are just minutes, the "02" service operator loses them in writing down the information in the register, in determining in the handbook the rayon department of internal affairs and the militia division to which the information coming in must be re-routed. And even more time for the connection to the radio bureau operator in direct control of the patrol groups. And then minutes are needed to summon a car, to find out which of them to send to the scene of the incident. Time is lost—and often, so is the criminal.

It is axiomatic: The sooner the experts get to the scene of the incident, the greater the probability of solving the crime following the hot trail. Furthermore, the count here must be done in seconds, not minutes. The conclusion is simple: Modern technology is needed, technology capable of reporting to all militia services. All the more so today, when crime has increased so sharply.

That is why so much is expected to the automated control system [ASU] of militia operations work. Scientists and designers of the "Kibernetika" NPO [scientific production association] of the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry took up the creation of this powerful electronic system at the order of the Moscow gorspolkom GUV D [city administration of internal affairs]; it has been dubbed "Patrol." "Patrol" is being created under the guidance of Academician V. Semikhin and "Kibernetika" NPO General Director S. Chudinov.

The idea for "Patrol" was born long ago, almost 10 years ago. In the beginning, the creation of a very simple system was planned; with its help, the location of patrol groups was to be determined and concise orders were to be conveyed to them. And that was all. However, when work on the project began, the MVD leadership understood that its introduction would not yield a tangible effect. Only a powerful computer system encompassing all militia subdivisions could ensure the instantaneous transmission of information. It was decided to equip a new city watch room at Petrovka 38, to create computer complexes in every rayon administration, and to install personal computers in militia departments. The city's patrol cars must be outfitted with computers. This will heighten operational reaction. In addition, the complete computerization of the militia services will finally allow them to have their own electronic data banks, from which they may pull down at any second all the information on violators and other needed data. Electronics will take over all the bother of compiling various reports and documents.

The contours of the future ASU "Patrol" system are already clearly visible today.

The equipment assembly is being completed in the spacious room in Petrovka 38, in which is located the city operations watch officer and his assistants. Automated workplaces are being created, outfitted with displays and various types of communications. Three large light board maps occupying the entire opposite wall drew my attention.

"Moscow is an enormous city," explains doctor of technical sciences G. Krameshin, the system's chief designer. "For better orientation in a situation, the associates of the watch sectors will use three light board maps. The first of them is static."

This is, in effect, a huge, glowing map of Moscow. All the city's main roads are clearly visible on it. The small square with numbers and multicolored lights are militia divisions. If all is calm, a green light burns; if a incident report comes in, a red light starts to blink. As soon as a patrol car is sent to the scene of the incident, a red light starts to glow steadily. And when the task is completed, the green lights up.

Incidentally, the operational situation can be put in more detail on the dynamic light board next to it. With slides, any 6 by 6 square kilometer territory of the city is enlarged in the projection to a size big enough so that all streets, alleys, and microrayons are clearly visible. Here, one can even observe how the patrol vehicle is advancing toward the scene of the incident. The watch has at its disposal one more glowing map which displays the most important part of the city—the center of Moscow within the limits of the Sadovoye Koltso.

"When the development designers got started on the project, what they needed most of all was a detailed map of Moscow and its environs. It turned out that the most recent capital maps had long since become obsolete—they were done in the early seventies. We had to go to the USSR Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography, whose specialists compiled a new, more detailed map of the capital. It was needed not only to create the light maps. It is necessary to have a digital model of the city map in the computer memory in order to send a vehicle to the scene of the incident."

I was soon standing in front of a brand-new patrol car in the yard. The exterior of this yellow Moskvich, with its light-blue stripe, had little to distinguish it from the usual Moscow militia patrol groups. Yet when I looked into the cabin, I immediately noted that in addition to the radio set, there was installed here a video terminal with a small electronic screen.

"In selecting a vehicle, we looked at and tested cars of several marques," continues G. Krameshin. "For the first time, special modifications of the Moskvich-21418 were developed for the internal affairs organs at the AZLK [Moscow Automobile Plant imeni the Lenin Komsomol]. The car is equipped with a supplemental

electric generator and a battery as a power source for the automation complex. An on-board micro computer is installed in the trunk, and apparatus for determining coordinates. This is also where individual defense implements will be stowed. The front seat is separated from the rear by a solid barrier, behind which is the space for detainees. At present, 130 such vehicles have been produced and turned over to the militia."

In developing the ASU, its creators solved an important technical problem. It is necessary for the city watch to know at all times where the patrol group vehicles are located. In the beginning, they thought they would use radio transmission. But in Moscow, because of the numerous tall buildings, radio signals are not always received clearly. Therefore, they decided to utilize the "Tropik-2" radio navigation system developed for airplanes and seagoing vessels by the specialists at the Ministry of the Radio Industry. With this system, which is, incidentally, being applied in urban conditions for the first time, any car operating in the ASU "Patrol," like a satellite in orbit, will automatically transmit its coordinates every 20-30 seconds to the Central Computer Complex at Petrovka 38. This information will allow the vehicle to be "seen" on the screen.

And here we are already, tearing down the city streets in the Moskvich. The screen of the video terminal came on immediately. Reports come through from Petrovka 38 one after the other, and from the Taganskiy Rayon UVD, where our patrol car is heading. Information is lit up on the screen: "Volga stolen in the vicinity of Nizhegorodskaya Street. Take measures to apprehend." To be concise in transmitting orders, it was also decided to use the so-called formalized reporting. For example, number 36 "orders": "Remain in position!" There are 100 numerical codes in all. For the time being, the orders being transmitted are only a chapter in the test runs of the new equipment, but this is exactly how it will be during the watch—operations reports will come to the patrol services teams.

I visited the computer complex created in the administration building of the Taganskiy Rayon UVD. In one department, they showed me the workplace of the watch officer, equipped with a personal computer. Now you have an idea of how the four-part system of the ASU "Patrol" is going to look. The main task now is to outfit all the rayon administrations and city militia departments with electronics.

What will the introduction of the electronic system give the Moscow militia? Here is what ASU "Patrol" Deputy Chief of Administration, Lieutenant Colonel S. Kotukhov has to say:

"It takes only 10 seconds for the '02' service operator to transmit the report to the militia car. And the patrol group closest to the scene of the incident will receive this information. The preliminary calculations: Rapid response will increase crime solving by means of hot trails by 50 percent. Do we really have to say how badly

this equipment is needed today. Unfortunately, the work on the creation of ASU 'Patrol' has been dragged out too long. It is being conducted lagging behind established deadlines. The reasons are understandable: An extremely complex system is being created on a high technological level; it is without analogs in our country."

The developers and the ministry enterprises producing the equipment for ASU are striving to speed up the work. State trials of the automation equipment installed in the Moskvich are to begin in May-June. By the end of this year, four city rayons—Kuntsevskiy, Leningradskiy, Baumanskiy, and Sevastopolskiy—must be outfitted with computer equipment. Five more rayon UVDs will be added to them in 1991, and state trials of the experimental model of the "Patrol" system will begin. Then the first ten rayons will be placed on "active" watch. Gradually, the entire territory of Moscow will be encompassed in a powerful electronic system.

But the collaboration of the militia and the Ministry of the Radio Industry does not end with this. Negotiations are now being held on equipping the militia's other subdivisions with modern technological devices.

Among the major MVD orders are the development and creation of information search systems for State Motor Vehicle Inspection [GAI]. In effect, this will implement the computerization of all GAI subdivisions in the country. In addition, massive production of various radioelectronic devices is planned, making possible automatic fixation of traffic violations, and control over road transportation. At the request of the MVD, work is being done to create protective security signal systems for motor vehicles. And an automated system for fighting apartment burglaries is of great interest to us all. So, electronics is being plugged into helping the militia against criminals.

### **Georgian Patriarch Asks Gorbachev for Death Penalty Repeal**

90UN1750A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
22 Apr 90 p 3

[Open letter from Ilya II, Catholicos, Patriarch of All Georgia: "To His Excellency, M.S. Gorbachev, President of the USSR"]

[Text] *Highly esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich!*

*I greet you cordially in the name of the Georgian Orthodox Church. Our Church actively supports those spiritual and social changes which are taking place in our country because we consider that the process of perestroika is primarily a spiritual problem; it is a process of purifying and transforming the human soul.*

*Every item or object made by a human being is a portrait of his soul; they constitute our self-portraits.*

*We are deeply grateful to you for the courage and determination that you have shown in the process which nowadays bears the name "perestroika"; I am convinced*



*that many persons formerly gave thought to the need for this process, but they could not make up their minds to take this step, a step which entails many dangers and difficulties.*

*I would like to touch upon a problem which is, undoubtedly, disturbing to you also; this problem pertains to the death penalty, which now exists in our state.*

*Killing a human being, regardless of his guilt or innocence, is a very great crime and a grave sin in the eyes of God. One of the Ten Commandments is: "Thou shalt not kill" (Exodus. 20, 13) This Commandment does not say: "Thou shalt not kill an innocent person," but simply "Thou shalt not kill."*

*When Cain killed his brother Abel, Cain heard the voice of God saying: "What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood cries out to me from the earth. And now thou art accursed by the earth, which refuses to accept the blood of thy brother, who was slain by thee" (Genesis. 4, 10-11). Despite this strict prohibition, killings have continued, and the number of killings is increasing.*

*The death penalty was undoubtedly introduced for the purpose of somehow deterring homicides and other very serious crimes. However, practical experience has shown that the introduction of the death penalty has not solved this problem; crimes are on the increase.*

*The great fourth-century teacher St. Basil of Cappadocia stated the following: "Evil cannot be cured by evil." Evil can be cured only by goodness, love, and mercy. We often see the seriousness of a crime; and we condemn, blame, and punish the criminal involved. But we do not study what led a certain person to commit a crime, what his childhood was like, and how his life evolved.*

*Highly esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich!*

*I appeal to you in the name of the Georgian Orthodox Church, in the name of the Holy Synod, and in the name of millions of believers: let your self-sacrificing and self-abnegating service in the high post of our country's president be marked by the abolition of the death penalty in our state.*

*And the second point is as follows. The places of incarceration are filled to overflowing with people, and these are primarily young persons. They are, undoubtedly, being punished deservedly for having committed certain crimes. Prisons and camps are filled with young persons who*

*should be working and starting families of their own. Many of them have confessed and deeply regret their transgressions; they are repentant and wish to start out on the good path of correction, i.e., they want to "go straight."*

*Show them the mercy which is so characteristic of you; if a person repents and is prepared to "go straight," and if a collective at some enterprise is prepared to assume responsibility for him, then let such people out before their time is up. If an incarcerated person is aware that people know about him, remember him, and believe in him, then he will necessarily develop a desire to straighten himself out. He will develop a faith in his own powers and a hope for the future.*

*In our turn, we and our clergymen will visit the places of incarceration and render assistance to the prisoners there for the purpose of purifying their souls, as well as facilitating their rapid return to their normal working lives and families. Because, of course, everyone knows that prison does not straighten a person out; when he is in there, a person sinks lower and lower on the moral scale.*

*In my opinion, particular attention must be accorded to minors.*

*Children who commit crimes and are put in prison are completely excluded from a normal life; they are morally degraded and become incorrigible criminals. If such children were to be handed over to the Church for upbringing and education, they would necessarily be straightened out there. The Church would see to it that these children become accustomed to work, acquire some sort of specialization, and when they come of age, we would help them to start a family of their own.*

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*I am writing this letter out of profound respect for you and in the hope that you will give your attention to these poor, unfortunate people, who are waiting for your help.*

*I wish you good health and great success in your onerous and important tasks.*

*May God preserve you in peace and prosperity.*

*Very respectfully yours,*

*Ilya II,*

*Catholicos—Patriarch of all Georgia*



**Expansion of Moscow's Ostankino TV Broadcast Facilities Planned***90US0884A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 6*

[Interview with Vyacheslav Nikolayevich Misyulin, director of the All-Union Radio and Television Broadcasting Station imeni 50-Letiye Oktyabrya, by R. Ignatyev: "The Ostankino TV Tower Will Be 30 Meters Taller"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] Special equipment is being installed on the Ostankino television tower to expand the broadcasting range considerably in Moscow: Soon programs will be broadcast on eight television channels in the capital, and new programs are being developed. The television tower in Ostankino will begin operating on a commercial basis. Our correspondent spoke with Director V. Misyulin of the All-Union Radio and Television Broadcasting Station imeni 50-Letiye Oktyabrya about this.

[Ignatyev] Vyacheslav Nikolayevich, we all know that the Ostankino television tower was built 22 years ago. Might it not be obsolete?

[Misyulin] No, it meets all of the requirements for structures of this kind and is still unique. The proof of this is that it recently joined the International Federation of World TV Towers, which already includes the 15 best-known television towers. Now we have a chance to use this structure for commercial purposes as well. We are already receiving proposals from various parts of the world. On behalf of the administrators of the Eiffel Tower in Paris, for example, Phillipe Gileraud has proposed our participation in the preparations for the world championship bridge tournament. This is not simply a matter of broadcasting the game in both countries on television, but also of organizing a competition between the towers. We have agreed in principle, and if we can find sponsors, we will certainly accept this interesting offer. The benefits are self-evident: additional revenues and advertising.

[Ignatyev] But you always made money on, for instance, tours.

[Misyulin] Only negligible amounts. The ticket for the Eiffel Tower, for example, costs 6 dollars. The number of tickets sold in a day might be around 5,000. This is a profit of 30,000 dollars. It only cost 2 rubles to tour the television tower in Ostankino. The number of tickets sold in a day is under 1,500.... Besides this, the television tower was closed to the public for a long time after the sad incident of the fire in the Rossiya Hotel. Even now, it is not that easy to gain access to the tower: The tickets are sold out for almost a month ahead. I think the time has come to remove all of the restrictions and give us a chance to make some real money, especially now that our tower is experiencing several difficulties.

[Ignatyev] Where will the money go if you are able to earn it?

[Misyulin] Many things in the Ostankino tower are worn out after more than two decades of use. It is time to replace most of the equipment. The technical equipment produced in the USSR does not meet all of our requirements. Whereas we get our meter-range transmitters from Soviet plants, Czechoslovakia has always supplied us with our decimeter equipment. Today we are having problems with deliveries and with currency. It is no use to ask the USSR Ministry of Communications for currency: It deposits 97 percent of its currency in the state budget. The meager remainder cannot stretch far enough. This is why we will have to rely on ourselves, especially now that the Ostankino tower has already been granted the right to engage in foreign economic operations.

[Ignatyev] What is being done in the development of television broadcasting?

[Misyulin] Channel 24 will begin carrying the CNN signal at the end of May. It is a well-known network in the United States. The preparations are being made by the Turner firm. It will be a 2-hour program of news from all over the world. The State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting has already signed a contract to broadcast "World News." The program will not, however, be transmitted over a broad area. At this time it can only be transmitted to hotels, news agency bureaus, embassies, and other establishments. The CNN signal will be scrambled, but a special decoder will be available to organizations for a fee. We are now considering a simulcast of "World News." The signal will be transmitted from the United States with the aid of a satellite antenna, which has already been installed in Ostankino. Another will be installed in May.

Incidentally, Moscow receives signals from six satellites. They give people in the capital a chance to see all of the main programs produced in the world. Broadcasting these programs without paying their owners, however, is prohibited by international law. Maybe our government will make a decision on this matter in the future, but for now we will begin experimental broadcasts of "Teletext" at the end of this year. People will be able to read this unique 100-page magazine right on the screen, using a button to turn the "pages." It will provide information about movie and legitimate theater schedules, Aeroflot and railway schedules, weather conditions in different countries and throughout the union, TASS reports, and much more. The viewer who wishes to receive the "magazine" will need a special attachment, which our plants will now be manufacturing. In addition to offering "Teletext," we plan to introduce several similar innovations for the population and for organizations. Around 10 have been developed so far.

[Ignatyev] What other television channels do you plan to "turn on"?

[Misyulin] Channel 31, followed soon afterward by Channel 49, will begin broadcasting programs in 1992. Two powerful stations will be installed on the Ostankino

tower and will "cover" Moscow and Moscow Oblast within a radius of 70 kilometers. Channel 28 is also in the planning stage. We still do not know how it will be used. We plan to introduce new UHF programming. Around half of the population of Moscow can watch Leningrad's Channel 33 now. The additional equipment needed to add another channel to the network will cost almost 30 million rubles. The design work on equipment capable of transmitting 12 different programs, or 24 in pairs (cable television), will be completed next year. There will be a "feedback" channel. It will be used to collect various types of information: to keep track of heat and electricity expenditures, monitor the operation of elevators, provide home security services, transmit "emergency aid" signals and fire alarms, and conduct public referendums on any issue. On the same channel the subscriber will be able to contact and work with various data banks. The Moscow Unified Cable TV Network should be completely established by 1996. An automated center will be built next to the tower to monitor the state of the network. A system for the transmission of programs to inter-regional centers from the tower is also being developed. After all, the tower now receives TV signals through space from other countries, the television studios of the union republics, and the Moscow Television Broadcasting Center. Video tape studios are being opened.

[Ignatyev] What is the possible increase in the number of television channels and programs in the near future?

[Misyulin] We are in negotiations now for the purchase of radio relay lines. We need around 10 for Moscow. They can transmit from 8 to 10 signals in one direction. They take only 2 or 3 months to install. We are also experimenting with fiber optics in communication lines. This will augment our capabilities considerably.... There is also something known as wireless television—a system operating on as many as 24 channels. We are now filling out applications for the acquisition of frequencies so that we can buy these multi-channel transmitters and install them on the tower. In short, we have the technical ability to broadcast programs not on the present 5 channels, but on 30-50. Finding enough programs to fill these channels is another matter. Besides this, the domestic supply of television sets will have to be replaced, because Soviet sets receive only five signals.

[Ignatyev] We know that TASS, APN, and the State Committee for Cinematography want to have their own television channels....

[Misyulin] Yes, they have requisitioned them, but they still do not have the right to go on the air. Technically, this would be possible today. We have heard that the ispolkom of the Moscow city soviet also wants a separate channel.

[Ignatyev] Will the addition of this new equipment to the tower make it "grow" and might it become the tallest in the world, as it was before 1974?

[Misyulin] Today the Ostankino needle is 540 meters 74 millimeters high when the temperature is 20 degrees centigrade. In summer the tower "grows" a quarter of a meter, and in winter it shrinks. In May the whole massive tower weighing 55,000 tons will be lifted along with its foundation. This will "stretch" the tower a millimeter. As for the tallest tower in the world, the official record is held by the television tower in Toronto (Canada). It is 553.33 meters high. It is possible, however, that ours will beat this record. For Channel 49 we will probably have to lengthen the old antenna or install a new one, and this will increase the height of the Ostankino tower by 30 meters....

### **Production Team Views Popularity of Moscow TV's Vzglyad Program**

*90US0884B Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 23 Mar 90 p 2*

[Interview with Anatoliy Lysenko, art director of "Vzglyad," and reporters Aleksandr Lyubimov and Vladislav Listyev, by V. Katsman: "'We Are Mainly Dependent on Our Conscience'—This is the Opinion of the Journalists on 'Vzglyad,' the Popular Television Program for Youth"]

[Text] According to statistics, every Friday 140-150 million TV sets are tuned in to "Vzglyad" ("Viewpoint"), the program produced by the Central Television Network's Young People's Programming Department. Of course, these statistics cover all of the different time zones in the USSR. Today this is one of the most popular and, what is equally significant, most authoritative and independent shows broadcast from Moscow. Incidentally, the minor cold snap in the "sea of glasnost," which recently affected the central network, naturally affected "Viewpoint" as well. We tried to talk about this with a team of journalists—"Viewpoint" Art Director Anatoliy Lysenko and reporters Aleksandr Lyubimov and Vladislav Listyev.

[Katsman] It has been just over 2 years since your program first went on the air. Now "Viewpoint" is breaking all records for popularity and viewer interest. What do you see as the main result of these 2 years?

[Lysenko] If we must look back into history, "Viewpoint," according to the plans of our administrators, was supposed to provide an alternative to the "enemy radio stations" and lure the Soviet people away from their radios (incidentally, this was the reason for the emphasis on reporting speed and authenticity, the slightly sensationalized content, the time-slot the show was given, and even the number of music clips). As soon as the program went on the air, however, it immediately ceased to perform this kind of applied function and became political. You know, when we were taken off the air on 29 December (which did not go unnoticed and caused viewers to worry about the future of their favorite program), they explained that "people do not need to watch such highly politicized shows on New Year's Eve.

They want to relax." We certainly appreciate this commendation, but we are disturbed by the relapse into the outdated authoritarian method of making decisions "on behalf of the people"....

[Lyubimov] The fact that we have caught the attention of even the upper "echelons" is quite inspiring, but this sometimes interferes with our programming.

[Katsman] Aleksandr, what distinguishes you from the rest of the reporters on the program is, as you yourself have pointed out, your single status and the fact that you are not a party member. Are you also the most independent?

[Lyubimov] I do not think there is any such thing as an independent journalist. Each of us is dependent on his own knowledge, professionalism, stupidity, and so forth. The "Viewpoint" journalists are mainly dependent on their own conscience.... And my single status will be corrected soon.

[Lysenko] You know, when these boys arrived in the editorial department 2 years ago, no one would have believed that they would get so bold. Time is making heroes out of them.

[Katsman] Apropos of this, how did you two become reporters on the program?

[Lyubimov] I majored in economics and I graduated from the Institute of International Relations. I worked in a radio station broadcasting foreign programs—specifically, programs for Denmark. Few people spoke Danish even in the office where the program copy was written. For this reason, I had to "ad lib" sometimes when I was on the air. This predisposed me to the future "Viewpoint." Vlad Listyev and Mitya Zakharov were graduates of the Moscow State University School of Journalism, but they worked there too: Listyev did translations for the Spanish-speaking countries, and Zakharov worked on programs for the United States. I remember the first time we were on television. We kept interrupting each other and then kept apologizing....

[Listyev] We still interrupt each other, but we do not apologize as often.

[Katsman] Has the program benefited from the new format in which only two or three staff journalists work on each segment, and in which the employees of printed publications, popular performers, journalists, and others sometimes appear on the program as guest reporters?

[Listyev] I do not know about the artistic side of the matter, but things are much easier on the organizational end. At first there were 12 of us working on two programs (this is when we also had our Sunday edition); now we can concentrate on different segments in depth.... Incidentally, we still do not spend much time at home. My two children have probably forgotten who I am....

[Katsman] Are there cases in which one reporter disagrees with another?

[Lysenko] Absolutely.

[Lyubimov] We observe pluralism on the program, but here there can only be one viewpoint.... I am only joking, of course.

[Listyev] Still, we usually agree because we have the same opinions in general.

[Katsman] Why did the Sunday edition of "Viewpoint" disappear?

[Lysenko] The new administrators of the Central Television Network decided there was no room for it on the schedule. In fact, you may have noticed that the time-slot of the Friday edition has also been reduced by later programming. We are hoping to find new ways of conveying our ideas.

[Lyubimov] Maybe the new team of reporters Anatoliy Grigoryevich recently added to the program staff might help. Everyone is probably tired of us anyway....

[Lysenko] As always, Sasha wants to sound modest.... It is true that you will be seeing a few new faces soon. These are young people, journalism students, who are, in today's vernacular, very "sharp"....

[Katsman] Can you say a few words about the topics which "did not pass"?

[Lyubimov] We call them "colonels" ["polkovniki"] because they stay on the shelf ["polka"] so long. Recently we were forbidden to discuss the prostitution in the communal housing where the Vietnamese workers live. Another story on the Moscow mortuaries was "withdrawn" because it was "unaesthetic." It is true that it included some shocking footage, but we feel that what was shocking was not the topic, but the lawlessness the clips portray. There was a story which once, as we say when we are joking around, would certainly have won the Lenin Prize. It was a film showing scenes of Privolnoye, the rural community in Stavropol Kray where our president was born. Mikhail Gorbachev's mother is still a highly respected person there. We feel that the people who knew the general secretary when he was a boy—his teachers and an old combine operator—had some interesting things to say.... This story is still waiting its turn....

[Listyev] You know, I associate our "open" topics with the color black....

[Katsman] What?

[Listyev] Oh, yes, because every time we discuss this kind of topic, the square in front of the Ostankino Studio turns black in the morning from all the "authorities" who are out there in their luxurious black cars....

[Lyubimov] Vlad, you certainly have a knack for free association. Did you forget that the Supreme Soviet

Commission on Privileges already said that the "authorities" no longer have to ride in black limousines. They can ride in limousines of a different color, if they can ride at all....

[Katsman] What is your favorite kind of story?

[Lyubimov] The kind that helps people, even if someone in the upper echelons might not like it. We had a story about the dachas of the army generals (it was a long time before it was approved). It naturally displeased the generals greatly, but when we were working on the story we met officers who would not trade their integrity for any dacha. I think they are the ones who will restore the authority of our army, rather than those who, I hope, will be forced to retire soon "for reasons of health"....

[Katsman] A reporter on "600 Seconds," A. Nevzorov, said in a KOMSOMOLKA interview that he had received job offers from Western television companies. What about you?

[Lyubimov] Some did show an interest in us—CBS, CNN....

[Listyev] We think we can do much more here at home. We have so much more work to do....

[Katsman] What gives you hope?

[Lysenko] Today many of the things we want to do are also impossible because we work for the state television network. Our ideas and our judgments have to "fit" into the framework of the state's point of view. This is how things stand now. For a long time, however, people have been discussing the division of broadcasting into public and state programs. The Supreme Soviet plans to set aside a channel for public use. We feel that this would give us greater opportunities. Anyway, we will wait and see what happens.... For now, "Viewpoint" is still scheduled for this coming Friday. We hope it will be just as incisive and interesting as all of our earlier shows. We want this very much....

### MGU Journalism Professor Sees Press 'Still on Short Leash'

90US0871A Moscow *SOBESEDNİK* in Russian  
No 16, Apr 90 p 10

[Interview with Yassen Nikolayevich Zasurskiy, dean of the journalism faculty at Moscow State University, by Mariya Lukina; date and place not given]

[Text] According to the calculations of sociologists, the press is included in the group of social institutions which enjoy the people's greatest trust, yielding two percentage points to the Supreme Soviet but three percentage points leaving out informal ones. It seems that even six years ago these figures would have been completely different. New times—new problems; yes, and the recurrences of old illnesses also are letting themselves be felt.... However, our discussion with Yassen Nikolayevich Zasurskiy, the dean of the journalism faculty at Moscow State

University imeni Lomonosov, does not concern only journalism's problems. You see, the most typical problems of today are reflected in today's press.

[Lukina] Yassen Nikolayevich, the thought that only journalists "did" restructuring during the first years has become a popular one. Does this not seem a paradoxical situation to you? Isn't journalism still extremely "harmoniously joined" to the command administrative system's framework?

[Zasurskiy] Indeed, this is one of the paradoxes of our life. You see, nothing has changed in the journalism system that has endured for years. Everything is as it was under Stalin and Brezhnev. The same newspapers and the same publishers. Even the people are the same. Nevertheless, journalism was indeed the first to react to restructuring. I think that the cause of this lies in the specific nature of the profession itself. What is its distinctive feature? Journalism is always implicated with life; yes, and journalists work, as a rule, with the black and unattractive side of reality. As sewerage disposers, they shovel aside what others have messed up. This pain was accumulated, sometimes, true, bursting into newspaper columns. We easily forget the past. You see, there were at one time publicists whose material essentially prepared for restructuring. In return for this, they received it in the neck from the previous leaders; however, a generation of new ones was reared on this. There were famous ones who have already entered history as "country bumpkins." There was Anatoliy Agranovskiy. Read his notes on the 1968 "Prague Spring". Were they really not contemporary?

[Lukina] But how late they were! And then, you see, they were written "for the desk" and not for people....

[Zasurskiy] But, you see, they were written! This means that he believed that they would be published sooner or later. However, he was not able to decide at the time whether they would be printed or not. Here is the paradox—many journalists were free in their creativity but only privately with each other.

[Lukina] That is good, but are journalists free now?

[Zasurskiy] Of course not. A comparison—perhaps, not a very delicate one—inevitably comes to mind. One can keep a dog on a short leash and then it will not be able to move independently. However, one can also let him out on a long breast-band; in this case, he is practically free. Our press, it seems to me, is still on a short leash. Incidentally, it frequently shortens this lead itself. We love to quote Lenin's words, who said that publicists write the history of today. However, we are writing the history of our directive instructions. The press is not illuminating true history and the dynamics of the development of events. This tradition has come to us from the Thirties. At that time, journalism became a mouthpiece. A document is published—it is necessary to popularize it; a directive is received—publicize. In 1937, there were calls to crush the Trotskiy and Zinovyev traitors and,

later, there were calls to develop the virgin lands. The tragic and the criminal, as we see, were combined with the extremely noble....

[Lukina] What must be done for journalism to acquire freedom?

[Zasurskiy] First of all, one must eliminate the monopoly on information. I am convinced that there should not be any monitoring of information. Generally speaking, I support the concept of the mass information media's autonomy in our society—but autonomy not from society but from the publishers, especially from the bureaucratic apparat—party or soviet.

[Lukina] You are suggesting that we repudiate Lenin's principle concerning the party nature of the press?

[Zasurskiy] Pardon me, but Lenin's principle of party nature does not assume that the PRAVDA or IZVESTIYA newspapers will implement Lenin's instructions purely mechanically. In his day, Lenin read PRAVDA and received information from it that was very important to him. He made his decisions on the basis of this. However, we have turned everything inside out. Many party leaders are filled with indignation if they learn something new from the press. They call their employees and say: "Why did I find out about this from the newspaper?" What does a newspaper exist for? Can it really be only to report what is known to this or that director? Incidentally, Lenin recognized the need for autonomy in the party press within the framework of the party's program.

[Lukina] Nevertheless, it is not quite clear how the principle of party spirit is being combined with the autonomy of the press?

[Zasurskiy] If the party, a cooperative or a scientific institution publishes a newspaper or journal, this does not at all mean that it is strictly implementing only the directives of the specific person who represents that publisher. It has the right to its own opinion and should express it if it, of course, does not contradict the overall program.

[Lukina] This means that the communist press can publish information about other political forces? Or is this, from the realm of fantasy?

[Zasurskiy] This is the logic of elementary common sense. Before discussing or subjecting any political movement to criticism, one should give an objective picture and its entire political platform. You see, criticism should be based on knowledge. If a journalist retells that platform or even criticizes it in passing, a lack of trust in that material involuntarily arises in the reader. Journalists often complain that readers ask them why there is no housing, meat or goods but for some reason no one asks why there is no information. Yes, the readers simply do not believe that they will be able to get it.

[Lukina] However, when information is really needed, they act more simply—they turn on the radio and listen to Radio Liberty, Voice of America or BBC....

[Zasurskiy] Exactly. It is a shame that our journalism has still not learned to inform—and inform quickly so that Gorbachev, Ligachev, deputy Sobchak, and deputy Popov would read the newspaper.... Both they and we should learn the news from newspapers. Our newspapers? Can one of them really provide a systematically informed picture of the entire Soviet Union? Let us say that events have occurred in Dushanbe but what is the situation, for example, on the Chukot Peninsula or in Omsk Oblast? We learn about this only when, God forbid, something extreme happens there. Yes, what can one say about a developed information picture if we are not even able to learn from the press what political organizations and groupings are functioning in our country? Or take the Baltic question. You see, the main mass of the readers does not know what is happening there. What is the economic situation there? What were the dynamics of development in these republics before their entry into the USSR and afterwards? Mikhail Sergeyevich has said that Lithuania came to us wearing bast sandals; however, for some reason only Mikhail Sergeyevich knows this. Everyone should know this—and know it from the press.

[Lukina] You professionally study the foreign press, in particular, the American. In your view, is it free?

[Zasurskiy] Many are mistaken in thinking that it is absolutely free. It is not free, especially economically. It is dependent on concerns and cooperations. Nevertheless, the American press possesses a certain degree of autonomy. For example, we met with Rupert Murdoch. He is a famous newspaper magnate and owns newspapers in America, England and Australia. Does he influence his newspapers? "My newspapers are all radical conservative"—these are his words. However, this does not mean that he passes his instructions on to them all the time although there exists a direct line to each editor-in-chief. They told me in confidence that, when this telephone rings, their hearts jump. However, he very rarely calls. The length of the leash is long. However, there is an area in which the newspapers do not know any limitation—this is the transmission of timely information. Everyday, every American receives vitamin I—the vitamin of information—from his newspapers and, you can be sure, he does not look for the wavelengths of Moscow radio on his receiver for information.

[Lukina] This means that freedom of the press is freedom of information. Does the desired Law on the Press approximate this?

[Zasurskiy] The Law on the Press itself reforms nothing. There is no doubt that it somewhat improves the situation of our press. It, for example, repeals censorship. However, questions, which not only journalists should resolve, will not be decided in it. This is a matter of glasnost and of access to information. Look at what is

happening. One of the law's articles says that every Soviet individual has the right to receive information from the mass information media—including the journalist. However, you see, the journalist's task is to create information—to look for it, as they say, "in the field"—in life itself. The law does not solve the problem of access to information and the problem of the openness of the actions of our state agencies, the government, all party agencies, and finally even the Ministry of Defense and the KGB. Some are troubled by the fact that the viewing of broadcasts from Supreme Soviet sessions occupies too much of the people's time. However, you see, it is these broadcasts that have sharply raised our society's information level. We have finally begun to receive information first hand. Nevertheless, some say that this is expensive and that the material expenditures are irreplaceable.... However, I assure you that if we had previously received such reliable information on the situation in the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and the Baltic area, this would have permitted the people to find their bearings and understand what the trouble was in these areas. In any event, better to have knowledge than be ignorant.

[Lukina] It seems to me that ignorance even aggravates the situation at times and provokes blind actions. For example, the Vremya program provided the subject of a recent meeting in Vilnius. The information was minimum—who, what, why. On the other hand, there was a wordy commentary by a journalist who regarded this event negatively, it seemed to me. On the screen, there were happy free faces but he knew better: Look at what will happen to you when you leave the USSR! Who needs such frontal attacks which only cast a fog on what is happening? Neither the Lithuanians nor the center. Neither the one nor the other has any reaction except irritation; this topic will not call out.

[Zasurskiy] You have cited an example of the typical "measuring out" of information in "doses." We ourselves are very quietly using the same methods that we previously justifiably accused the Western information media of using. I think that an article on responsibility for the failure to report information or the concealing of information should be added to the law. Remember how it was during Stalin's time. How was information reported? Until they transmitted it over the radio, there was seemingly nothing. They would transmit it over the radio when everyone was satisfied: The information was published—and the event took place. You see, however, one must report immediately so that the people will know and so that they will be current about what is happening. Sometimes, they report our domestic events abroad before we do.

[Lukina] However, do they often use information obtained from our press agencies? Which of our mechanisms is not working?

[Zasurskiy] I cannot talk calmly about this. When the events occurred in Romania, the whole world knew about them from Soviet correspondents. In our country,

however, the top leader replied to the deputies, who had assembled for the congress, that he did not have any accurate information available on what was happening there. Is it really normal that we do not have instantaneous information at the highest level? This is a very genuine remnant of the cult of personality and it is simply impermissible in a modern society. I assure you that until we eliminate this cowardly and hypocritical attitude toward information, which comes from love of ignorance and distrust of the individual, we will not make progress in developing democracy. A modern society is a society with free access to information.

[Lukina] Yassen Nikolayevich, does it not seem to you that the low level of our journalism is determined not only by the monopoly on information but also by the absence of free competition in this area?

[Zasurskiy] Yes, our market is being "usurped" by several publications. One can say that ARGUMENTY I FAKTY is a monopolist among the weekly newspapers, OGONEK is a monopolist among the illustrated weeklies, etc. These are very good publications but there are no others. There is nothing else for the reader to select. Of course, the whole trouble consists of paper. While we are still in such bad shape with regards to paper, we will not be able to do very much. A free market in paper and polygraphy is needed. Why shouldn't the newspapers take the wood-pulp and paper industry into their own hands? In the West, every large newspaper concern has plants and even tree plantations.

[Lukina] Let us engage in forecasting. The ban on one word—"multiparty"—was recently removed. Time is now flying at such speed that a multiparty system of power may soon become a reality. What will happen then in journalism? You see, a mass of problems will arise. In addition, where will one get journalism cadres? Our country, you see, prepares journalists only for the party and soviet press. Will the journalism department be able to train journalists with different political convictions?

[Zasurskiy] There is already such experience in Poland. There, the journalism faculty is preparing journalists for different publications, including religious ones. We are still not training journalists for the informal press. I do not know; perhaps, it does not need our graduates. Concerning the restructuring of journalism education, we have already advanced several ideas and have begun to implement them. I am confident that a journalist should primarily have a broad humanities education that will help him to clarify his social orientation. He must, of course, know Marxism—and also other political theories without a doubt. In addition, he must have a thorough literary training that will instill a taste for words and graphic thinking in him....

[Lukina] You work with students and youth all the time. What do you think—will they be able to bring our journalism to a new level?

[Zasurskiy] We have very diverse students. There are those who burn from the very beginning with a desire to

join in journalism and they apply to editorial boards. However, disappointment frequently waits there. Many editors do not want to have the new type of journalist in their collectives; they need obedient implementers. It is very difficult for the young lads. How to remain young and disobedient and, at the same time, to work in journalism.

[Lukina] And the last question. Could you mention the name of a journalist who, in your opinion, could easily join the new free press?

[Zasurskiy] Oh, that is a difficult question.... Perhaps there are now several in TV—Nevzorov, a brilliant and tough reporter devoid of a preacher's traits. This is very important for information journalism. Tikhomirov, an outstanding commentator who always sees the unusual in the usual and who easily masters words. Pozner wonderfully masters his audience and is able to express his point of view—but very discretely and tactfully. Matters are worse in the press. There, I cannot single out any journalist for the future. But wait a moment. There is Tretyakov from MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, our graduate. I have liked his "political portraits" very much. And, of course, I value Bobin very much for his boldness and stubbornness.

[Lukina] Thank you, Yassen Nikolayevich. One hopes that there will be many of these names in the journalism of the Nineties.

### Obkom Official Explains Changes in Leningrad Periodicals

90US0855A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 30 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with the deputy director of the CPSU gorkom A. I. Yevseyev by V. Koshvanets, date, place not given: "Press Pluralism"]

[Text] I have heard that soon there will be two LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDAs in our city. One will be devoted to party work, and the other, to Soviet. The CPSU obkom will publish one and Lensovet [Leningrad Soviet of Workers' Deputies], the other, respectively. Is this true? What will happen then to the paper's journalists? Will they also be divided?.. N. Bystrova, engineer and economist.

Quite a few similar questions with references to the most competent and worthy sources have arrived recently at the publishing house. Someone heard something on television. Someone read something in the newspaper SMENA. And what do they think of it in the CPSU obkom and the Leningrad gorkom, what do they think generally? Our interview with the deputy director of the CPSU obkom ideological department, A. I. Yevseyev, began with these questions.

[Yevseyev]—Today even if we wanted not to think about the press, that simply would not be possible. The papers

themselves or readers angry exclamations about one or another publication would remind us: "Where is the obkom looking?"

[Koshvanets]—And where is it looking? Today does it have to look at all?

[Yevseyev] The whole essence of the problem is in your last question. But let's look into the question a little more: "Give us a free, independent press!" That's roughly how representatives of different informal movements, some journalists, and even some party publications pose it. They want to see some supraparty structure that is not accountable to anyone; they say without this there can be no democracy and glasnost. We heard the following type of arguments: since we have no other parties, where competition would help society to move forward, the press must perform the role of the opposition. This is simplified, of course. But remember the thesis about the partnership of the founder with his publication came not only from journalists' lips but also from the party leaders'.

Today after the third USSR People's Deputies' Congress and the changes in the Basic Law introduced by it, it is doubtful whether we can speak about a one party system in our country. The political different-mindedness, which has always existed in our society, is beginning to manifest itself quite loudly, even through our own printing organs. There is no trace of any pluralism of opinion in these publishers. In general, we should expect this: no political party, social organization or private publisher is in partnership, let alone in oppositional relationships with its printing or electronic means of influencing the masses. Conversations about independence of the press are either erroneous or devious. No matter how much a democrat a newspaper owner imagines himself to be, he would hardly allow the publication to disregard his views and convictions.

[Koshvanets]—But you, I mean the party obkom and gorkom, have. For example, in the pre-election campaign our paper published candidates' programs, of which the disbandment of the CPSU and the liquidation of the party obkom and gorkom was the first point.

[Yevseyev]—Yes, it published it, as the law on elections required. And this was one of the dramatic anomalies of our time. Our society has changed during the years of restructuring; its processes have become truly multiple and contradictory. No one publication is in a situation to express this. Only all the publications belonging to different publishers can handle such a problem. In fact, I see the real means for solving the problem of adequate representation of reality in the augmentation of the spectrum of publications.

Let us say, today when all the governmental powers have been transferred to the Soviets, it is plainly necessary to divide the mass media, without which governmental functions cannot be realized. For example, none of the creators of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, neither the oblast or city party committees, nor the oblast or city



soviets, set up the current state of affairs. Each one has its own priority in elucidating one or another problem. Formerly, such "pluralism" had no meaning in the atmosphere of social and political singularity, and everything was done because of the rigid influence of party structures in the ideological sphere. Even the paper publisher was always confirmed at party committee plena and never at Soviet sessions.

Today the reality is such that the party committee circle is narrowing; the party has ceased to be the leading force and pointing finger. Soviets have been assigned to take on not only the totality of power, but also responsibility for what happens. But there is inertia in people's consciousness. And that is probably why, for example, doctors in one of Leningrad's television programs, complaining about the falling ceiling in the hospital, announced that they immediately sent a telegram to Comrade Gudasov in the CPSU obkom and not to the main public health administration. Remember, the "hot fall" of last year when hundred of train cars with freight and products needed by Leningrad residents stood idle on side tracks because of general lack of organization. Who had to coordinate transportation to eliminate this problem? Why not the MPS [USSR Ministry of Railroads] Executive Committee? Why didn't any of the authors of many critical thrusts addressed to the obkom in the press give any thought to the fact that for already a year there had been no party committee subdivisions responsible for the work of this or that economic sphere, that generally now the party committee does not have to deal with that.

Division of the mass media is necessary so that people will form an accurate image of where and in what administrative institute the entire complex of social and economic questions is resolved, and what press organ belongs to this administrative institute. Without this division the party cannot be identified as a party, the soviet as a soviet, the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] as a Komsomol, etc. Without it, what we call restructuring cannot proceed. I shall add only one thing more: the soviets are conceived as above the party structure. They can and should represent the entire spectrum of political attitudes existing in society and the mass media belonging to them should do the same.

In a word, after the proposed changes in the structure of the press, the reader or television viewer can receive a precise and unambiguous answer to the question "where is the obkom looking?" The position of each publication will be better defined, and even the journalists themselves working in one or the other organ will be more accurately orientated in the social, administrative, or political functions of its founder and publisher.

Taking all this into consideration, the Leningrad obkom and gorkom ideological departments developed proposals for the structural reorientation and alteration of the Leningrad press and other mass media.

[Koshvanets]—That is probably where the readers' many questions on the two LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDAs originated.

[Yevseyev]—No, the proposal is to have only one LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA as before. Created as a party newspaper, it certainly must retain its party orientation, and, in my opinion, only party committees should be among its co-publishers. Of course, it will have to focus special attention on questions of party evolution, its position in society and perspectives, strategy and tactics for waging the political struggle. Now, more than ever, there is a need to examine more deeply the processes inside it, and a party newspaper is necessary for this.

Party opposition, including that legalized in the form of press organs of different movements, has increased criticism. Open, constructive criticism of the party will also be necessary in the future. But it is also necessary that the party use its own press organ to criticize the processes within it as well as those outside in society. This is what constitutes political leadership: the opportunity to check whether the concrete business of one man or groups of people agrees with their declarations.

Now about the paper VECHEIRNIY LENINGRAD. Here it is; taking into consideration the perspective of uniting the oblast and city party committees, it was conceived advisable to transfer it completely to the direction of Lengorsovet [Leningrad City Soviet of Workers' Deputies], which has become its only publisher. There are plans to create an independent oblast soviet of workers' deputies' newspaper at the same time.

We also think it advisable to create a new mass sociopolitical illustrated journal of the Leningrad party organization in a contemporary polygraphic configuration based on the journals DIALOG, BYULLETERENYA DOMA POLITICHESKOGO PROSVESHCHENIYA, and VESTNIKA OBKOMA CPSU.

[Koshvanets]—Why don't you ever speak of the independence of the youth newspaper?

[Yevseyev]—Taking into account the content of the current SMENA, I think, who can doubt the independence of the work of this printing collective? What is the purpose of SMENA—it is the only paper that is not the organ of an elected committee but rather that of the entire Komsomol organization. So, as a matter of fact, its editor is actually in charge of the paper from conference to conference. It would be completely logical now to transfer this youth newspaper and also the weekly LENINSKIE ISKRY and its supplement ISKORKA to the Komsomol organizational balance sheet, if we are talking about the financial side of the matter.

Unfortunately, there is still one paradox in the interrelationship of the founders and their publications with the oblast regional papers. They are published by the city and regional party committees and the local soviets, but materially they are connected to the Leningorispolkom



[Leningrad City Soviet of Workers' Deputies Executive Committee] publishing, polygraphic and book trade administration. Its profit is figured in Leningrad. This situation has to be changed, and in association with the law about local self-government that is being developed, we need to pose the question of the transfer of newspapers directly into the hands of their founders.

**[Koshvanets]—As regards radio and television, have they always belonged to the soviets?**

[Yevseyev]—Yes. The Leningrad party organization and its oblast committee has really always directed the activity of this extremely important ideological organ. Today this is not so. Now a whole spectrum of publications will be the soviet's. It is true that only one Leningrad television in program capacity equals 4 newspapers with a PRAVDA format per day. This means the soviets will have to have their own special mass media administrative structure. I do not know how it will look. Perhaps, taking into consideration world-wide practice, public television soviets will be created. Or following the example of Eastern European countries, the suggestion will be made that television journalists leave their convictions in the dressing room, and we will speak of state and presidential television... In any case, I am convinced that the Leningrad party organization, in not backing away from the struggle for influence over the ideological direction of programs on state channels can and must prepare its audiovisual programs based on the CPSU obkom publisher "Lenizdat" [Newspaper, Periodical and Book Publishing House of the Leningrad CPSU Oblast and City Committees].

Generally, as we have considered, the financial and economic activity of all the publishing houses of the region must undergo very serious alterations, but this, it seems is the theme for a special conversation.

**[Koshvanets]—All the more if you think about it as it is. It is good that printing collectives such as ours do not have to be divided...**

[Yevseyev]—They do not have to be divided, but entire collectives and individual journalists, especially Communist journalists may have to take more precise positions. Maybe, someone will have to consider transferring to a publishing house which better suits his views and convictions.

I repeat, these are the realities of life and the realities of political conflict. The same party obkoms and gorkoms that have freed their paper from administrative guardianship and have retained the right for their own viewpoints and opinions, even if they are not indisputable, nevertheless will strive to defend and affirm above all the Leningrad party organization's opinion. Different publishers will act the same, I am certain. It is not, nor can it be any different.

### **Leningrad Party Body Announces Changes in Periodical Structure**

90US0885B Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA* in Russian 3 Apr 90 p 1

[LenTASS report: "In the CPSU Obkom and gorkom"]

[Text] On 30 March the CPSU oblast and city committees' buro examined the question of structural changes in the Leningrad print and other mass media, coming from the resolutions of the CPSU TsK [Central Committee special Plenum III of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies].

It was emphasized that under conditions of the dynamic sociopolitical processes in the region the dissatisfaction of a significant number of Leningrad Communists with the low effectiveness of party committee activity is associated all the more often with negative evaluation of the work of mass media: oblast and city newspapers, televisions and radio. Party committees are rightly criticized for their weak influence on editorial policy and the selection and placing of journalistic personnel.

The residents of Leningrad express their concern that editorial collectives do not expose true city and oblast life problems to their readers, listeners and viewers; they avoid serious discussion of the current activity of and perspectives for the work of party organizations, the soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, economic organs under the effect of the changed constitution in the country, laws on land-owning, land, and other legislative acts, which have predominantly altered the very bases of life in the multinational Soviet state, affecting the future of each citizen.

On the pages of publications belonging to the CPSU obkom and gorkom television and radio broadcasts it is difficult to detect the slightest attempts to answer efficaciously and expertly the disinformation and malicious falsehood about the activity of party organizations, which are represented in abundance in the widely distributed publications of formal and informal organizations and movements.

Ideological decay and a commercial trend appear all the more distinct in the content of local press organs, radio and factory radio broadcasts, and cable television studios. Party committees as nominal co-publishers of city, regional and widely circulated newspapers cannot legally influence their work nor decide personnel questions, since the media mentioned are financed by the Leningrad Oblast Committee [Leningrad City Soviet of Workers' Deputies Executive Committee], enterprise and trade union budgets.

It would be incorrect to see only the indifference or political myopia of journalistic collectives in the growth of negative tendencies in mass media activity. The main reason for the loss of combativeness and offensive in the party press is another: their elective organs have not taken decisive steps for the ideological, political, and organizational rallying of Communists, and at the same

time they have not proposed theoretically based directors for restructuring the party itself, including the editorial collectives. For the same reason, the complex and contradictory processes of inner party conflict seem beyond the field of vision of party journalism and a significant number of the city Communists. Today many party members are not ready either theoretically or practically to interpret the results of the ideological and organizational split in the CPSU.

With the practical work begun on the delimitation of party and soviet organ functions and the growth of the independence of social movements, including the Komsomol, the CPSU obkom and gorkom office along with the Leningrad City Soviet of Workers' Deputies Executive Committee found it necessary to transfer the newspaper VECHERNIY LENINGRAD to the direction and budget of the Leningrad City Soviet of Workers' Deputies and supported the proposal to establish a Leningrad oblast Soviet of Peoples' Deputies' weekly newspaper.

The CPSU obkom publishing house "Lenizdat" has been charged with providing for circulation of these publications and also the transfer of the paper SMENA, the weekly LENINSKIE ISKRY, and its supplement, the journal ISKORKA, to the Komsomol oblast committee budget.

With the agreement of the executive committees of the Leningrad Oblast and City Soviets of People's Deputies a decision was made to establish the CPSU Leningrad oblast and city committees as the publishers of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA. There are plans to develop newspaper regulations providing a contractual basis for hiring editorial staff.

The bureau ordered the newspaper editorial staff to focus attention on the ideological and organizational strengthening of the Leningrad party organization, improvement of its links to Leningrad residents, and the problems of the current situation as well as perspectives for the development of the economic, social and spiritual life of the Leningrad region.

A new mass sociopolitical illustrated journal of the Leningrad party organization in contemporary polygraphic configuration, based on the journal of the CPSU obkom and gorkom ideological departments DIALOG, the methodological bulletin of the Political Education Publishing House, and the VESTNIK OBKOMA CPSU should serve these purposes.

Confirming the increased necessity for more intensive use of political methods of fighting for the ideological direction of state radio and television broadcasts, the office charged the corresponding organizations to create a parallel system for preparing and distributing audiovisual programs based on the CPSU obkom publishing house.

It is recommended that the CPSU city and regional committees and the party committees of the primary

party organizations examine the question of the ownership of press organs, whose co-founders they are.

### **Belorussian Papers Cited in Study of Party, Media Relationship**

90US0871B Moscow PRAVDA in Russian  
27 Apr 90 Second edition p 3

[Article by Vitaliy Sinenko, press and social and political journalism department columnist: "The Newspaper in the 'Table of Ranks'"]

[Text] Minsk-Moscow—An editor deservedly recognized by the collective has retired. Aleksandr Kondratyevich Zinin headed the republic's party newspaper SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA exactly 26 years. A distinctive record. Zinin departed as the winner, having made the decision himself—without any help from "above" and with unanimous regret and even alarm from "below." SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA has never known any trouble with subscriptions and during the last four years its circulation has grown threefold in general, reaching 574,000—and this against the background of a decrease in circulation for local youth newspapers which seemingly worked in a relaxed manner, garishly, and with enthusiasm and which did not miss in the slightest degree any chance granted to the press by expanded glasnost.

A. Zinin's professional, official and even his simply human authority was very high on the newspaper. A tall and unusual person, he was an editor by calling; with him, the collective felt itself to be reliable. Much was revealed by the very fact of his voluntary retirement at 60. Zinin remained honest to himself and his colleagues. He knew what the inertia of authority was. The leader's dignity did not let him wait for the culling out process.

A. Zinin prepared a successor in the editorial board. "He has a stock of addresses, subjects and ideas so great that it would be enough for several editorial boards"—thus wrote his colleagues about deputy editor Iosif Seredich in the journal of the USSR Union of Journalists, ZHURNALISTSKIYE NOVOSTI.

It is worthwhile to recall how Seredich got on the newspaper. At that time, 12 years ago, while working as a correspondent on the republic's SELSKAYA ZHIZN, he went on direct instructions of the former Central Committee secretary for agricultural matters to Sennenskiy Rayon to describe the experience of a farm that was making a lot of noise at the time in the republic. The experience turned out to be false. Three months of unbelievable nervous tension and struggle. Only a personal appeal to P. Masharov, who headed the republic's party organization at the time, permitted him to bring the truth to the reader and saved the correspondent's reputation. After this incident, A. Zinin invited the 28-year-old journalist to head SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA's rural life department. Since then, his pen has never become blunted. Last year, Seredich was awarded a prize from the USSR Union of Writers for the best journalism work during the year.

This was the aspirer to the editor's armchair from the viewpoint of the editorial board. However, at a session of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee Buro during the summer of last year, they decided in favor of Z. Prigodich, the deputy manager of the Central Committee's ideological department, after examining several candidacies including the candidacy of I. Seredich. At the time, the leadership of the Central Committee's ideological department and another editor—of the oldest republic newspaper ZVEZDA—were replaced. An individual "from the apparat" also arrived. The events of those days disturbed the republic's journalism community. Their echoes still resound. Stinging letters with questions also arrived at PRAVDA.

Who is he, this new editor? Zinovin Prigodich is 40 years old. He began his journalism biography on a rayon newspaper. They invited him to join the republic's ZVEZDA during his fourth year at the university after a four-month period of pre-graduation practical work. He worked as a correspondent and department chief for a long time. The name of the sharp journalist, who knew how to think analytically, became known in the republic. He also tested himself in literature—he wrote poems and stories. Next, there was work in the Belorussian party's Central Committee and study as a graduate student in the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee. For several years, he headed the department of journalism, languages and literature in the Higher Party School. Before his confirmation as editor, he worked for seven months as the deputy head of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee's ideological department. He is a candidate of philosophical sciences and a member of the USSR Union of Writers.

The passions, which were evoked by the new editor's appointment by the usual resolute decision "from above" began to calm down within the collective itself considerably more rapidly than outside it.

The editor is the key figure in an editorial collective. Personal responsibility for the policy conducted by the publication and for all work costs lies on him. An editor, who lets go of the rudder and loses the collective's trust, is doomed to defeat. An editor's personality puts its imprint on the publication's content and level. It is not without reason that the idea that newspapers and journals are becoming more and more the "organs of individual persons and not of publishing organizations" resounds in many letters to PRAVDA.

Article 17 in the draft Law on the Press and Other Mass Information Media says: "The editor (editor-in-chief), who is appointed by the founder or selected in a manner determined by the editorial regulations, directs the editorial board." However: appointed or selected? The draft does not provide a clear answer. Does this mean that elbow-room for false rumors and, inevitably, concealed or open conflicts between the founder and the editorial board will again remain in the future?

The CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th party congress talks about the advisability of confirming the editors of party publications at appropriate party committee plenums. However, the procedure for selecting the candidacies, which are submitted to a plenum, is unclear as usual. A newspaper should not be under the heel of the staff. Incidentally, the informal publications of the popular fronts have already encountered this problem. It seems that the editor's fate should depend not on the buro and sympathies or antipathy of its collective but on the Union of Founders which includes the members of that committee and representatives of the party masses, the public and, of course, the newspaper itself in addition to party leaders. This should prevent secrecy during the discussion of a candidacy and the editor's dependence on a group of functionaries.

A good newspaper is, without fail, people and, without fail, daring, boldness, and a constant critical attitude—the frequently repeated comparing of restructured newspaper criticism to a run through a minefield rings out effectively, but not accurately, in all cases. Both the journalist and the newspaper can be blown up.

The reaction to the article "Nitrates on ... the Table" was noisy and not without bloodshed for its author—Aleksandr Gradyushko, the chief of SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA's rural life department—and the newspaper's directors. Now, this stinging subject is resounding loudly in the local and central press. At the time, however, it was "recommended" that the article and author be discussed and stigmatized during a party meeting. The fourth year of the struggle for glasnost was underway.

The memories of this case have still not cooled down. After last year's critical speech at a rayon party conference, they unexpectedly and strictly within the Central Committee's press sector, which is now being abolished, suggested that Ivan Gerasyuk, the chief of the editorial board's trade and consumer services department, write a statement about his resignation "for personal wishes." Conference delegate Gerasyuk, among other things, said openly and loudly in his speech that newspapers "have been transformed into an agency of the apparat," etc. In a word, he said "too much." The newspaper's party organization and editor stood up for one of their best workers and were able to defend him.

Such situations—even with an outwardly favorable conclusion—cost journalists dear. Even their "gold" pens lose their luster. A. Gradyushko has expressed himself as follows on this matter: "Another person would think that, if it is not necessary for those above, why should I make a nuisance of myself. Such is the spirit; if you have doubts, it will not be immediately straightened out."

"We" and "they"—the journalists and party workers. This division is not observed only in oral speech; it, unfortunately, still exists in life.

The name of V. Krukovskiy, the former chief of the press sector, when spoken aloud, still produces a certain, to

put it mildly, tension in the editorial board. After the cut-back of the Central Committee staff and the internal reorganization, V. Krukovskiy remained an instructor in the ideological department and is now making a career of publishing.

We met with Viktor Pavlovich in his office.

He coldly and briefly defined his recent position within the mutual relations between the Central Committee department and journalists: "I was only an implementor."

V. Krukovskiy was promoted to work on the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee from Orsha, a city of oblast subordination where he worked as the chief of a party gorkom department. Before that, he worked on the rayon newspaper's editorial board and headed a factory newspaper. In Minsk, V. Krukovskiy began to work with publications several levels higher. He did not simply work with them but, as they say, traveled about and implemented party direction of the press. Was his professional experience—yes, and simply his life experience—enough? It seems that Viktor Pavlovich experienced certain difficulties like even those, whom the press sector directs, experienced in certain cases. The words, which are now being spoken by the person to whom I am talking, are not simply words; they are—suffering:

"The status of the press organ has been eroded; it is not clear. On what concrete principles should the relations of the Central Committee, for example, with its agency be built? Journalists do not know the boundaries of their competency. We do not know theirs. All the misunderstandings flow from this."

The problem of mutual relations between the press agency and the publisher and founder is now being debated everywhere. With party workers—and not only in Minsk—I have had occasion to listen to debates; they say, not everything is clearly demarcated in the West: If you will not separate the views of your publisher and will not voice his opinion—look for another place to work. Thus, they say, the editorial board selects persons holding the same views. However, I doubt whether this "experience" will be useful in the situation that our society and party are living through. SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA recently analyzed critical materials and opinions on which the Central Committee and editorial board differed. They differed so much that only a miracle saved the editor several times. An unexpected discovery has now been made: Not one of the articles contradicted the general and correct line of the party; on the contrary, they supported and developed it. However, you see, they got a scolding! The apparat—more accurately, its individual workers—did not like them.

It is known that V. I. Lenin did not separate journalists and party work. During moments of crisis in the party's history, it was the Bolshevik press that was the main uniting and consolidating source. As they pointed out in Minsk, why should "a party journalist now be a party worker—only ... a second class one." The second-class

nature is emphasized at the Central Committee's doors through which a journalist cannot enter based on his certificate. The information level, work conditions and way of life sharply differ....

Now, the informal press and new publications with a special financial status, which are growing like mushrooms, are already able to simply outbid one for party journalists. No matter how badly this sounds, it is also the reality. In Minsk, I had an occasion to read this announcement with its alluring appeal: "Use your chances!" and "The Belorussian SSR Union of Cooperatives is announcing a contest to fill the vacant position of editor of the newspaper KOOPERATOR BELORUS-SII." Concrete offers have been given to several SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA workers. The salary is threefold higher and there are prospects for prestigious business trips, complete creative freedom, etc.

It is known that the cooperative system knows how to count its money and will not pay to no purpose. Journalists, however, are not in a hurry to embrace this appeal. Not material blessings and the concept of benefits but rather professional interest, ideological principles and, finally, pride in their "firm" bind capable and talented newspaper workers—I emphasize, communists—to their native newspaper. Is it worthwhile to alienate them by emphasizing the "second-class nature?" Incidentally, SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA will provide two million rubles of net profit this year alone. Income is growing with each year; however, all this is not reflected in any way in the material prosperity of party journalists.

The view of party publications and journalists as "transmission belts" and servicing personnel should depart into the past once and for all. Not a short leash but objective reality, political and ideological values, a common world perception, and affiliation with a definite organizational system bind a newspaper tightly to its publisher. However, in order to preserve fighting efficiency, the party apparat should learn to rely on persons and learn to evaluate its supporters not based on obedience. It is no accident that the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On the Newspaper PRAVDA" points out: "Party committee workers should feel themselves to be comrades and colleagues in their relations with party journalists...."

A. Rusetskiy, the chief of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee's ideological department, has talked about the changing forms of the Central Committee's work with its press and about the department's plans. Life itself, however, urges more active actions and a final tearing down of partitions. There is only one fact. From the comparatively small editorial board collective, the workers in the republic's different areas nominated four to be candidates for Belorussian SSR people's deputy. Two—I. Gerasiuk, who was recently dismissed from the newspaper, and V. Pechennikov, the party's

Central Committee secretary for ideological matters, passed through the same electoral district. The voters preferred the journalist.

Evidently, many know about this sensation. Having spent 42 years sitting in the forest, the individual came to the people. He looked like a victim of Stalinism in a paragraph disseminated by the BELORUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY. In the published photographs, the sensation's hero sat in a forest, having wrapped his legs in a sack with straw, and was reading ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA did not thoughtlessly jump at the material received. It checked it out. An article by A. Leopovets, its own correspondent, with the question "Take it against one's will?" appeared next to the BELORUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY report. As it turned out, the flight from the people was not caused only by "punctures of the ages."

The newspaper values its honest name. They are trying not to overlook the sensation but they are approaching the verification of the facts very scrupulously—the printed word must be believed. Is it not surprising that a serious party publication found it possible to send Viktor Ovcharenko, its special correspondent, on a official trip beyond the republic's borders to the so-called Perm anomalous zone where, according to reports in a number of publications, there had been "contacts" with beings from another planet. In this case, the editorial board skillfully and fruitfully joined the enthusiasm of its worker with the mysteries of nature and the interests of the newspaper and reader. The rubric "An Official Trip to [word unreadable]" subsequently appeared in four issues.

What should be done so that the newspaper is read. Not didactics and not exhortations but arguments, discussions and debates on all questions in public and party life—this is what lay at the basis of SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIAYA's interesting principles. The newspaper has joined in the collective search for the truth in looking at socialism—its theory, practice and ways to renew it. The drafts of the party regulations and the alternative versions of the pre-congress platform, which are arriving from individual communists and party organizations, do not cause any astonishment. A "discussion rostrum" has started working. The political activity of the people has been stirred up and newspaper pages are becoming the first testing ground for fresh and unusual thoughts and ideas on questions regarding party organizational development. In revealing new and thriving forms for organizing work, they are not hurrying to publicize "pure" experience under the conditions of the republic's shift to self-management and self-financing. The main thing is the opportunity to repeat it, not the technology but the problem. The rebirth of national culture and the republic's historic past is in the editorial board's sight. It is finding a place for the thematic columns and rubrics "Nothing Unusual," "The Obvious—The Unbelievable," "Meetings For You," etc.

Life, however, poses ever newer problems for editorial boards. For example, during a meeting in the editorial board with Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Central Committee, Irina Gurinovich, the chief of the propaganda department, talked about her dissatisfaction with the treatment of the informal movement subject. A figure—2,500—was mentioned during the meeting. This many different informal associations exist in the republic.

A peculiar situation has developed during the period of glasnost: Party and state agencies have begun to be criticized in the official press more safely and easily than any informal association. At the very least, you will not call down upon your head curses from loudspeakers and megaphones during meetings in public gardens, on squares and in so-called independent publications. Incidentally, the independent press itself, in this sense, does not suffer from complexes, does not mince words when addressing official structures, is not afraid to drive somewhere else, actively molds public opinion, and defends its position heatedly and at the top of its voice. It is necessary to point out that it has taken the best traditions of the militant Bolshevik press as its weapons. On the other hand, our party press has largely lost these traditions.

Journalists see that it is already time to shift from the accumulation of a critical mass—frequently uncoordinated critical facts and denunciations—to a more purposeful and constructive intervention in life. They have decided to introduce the rubric "Anatomy of the Deficit," and to examine from different sides the deep reasons for the difficulties that are appearing in the acquiring of specific goods in stores—goods which were recently in plentiful supply. The trade system, the producers of the products, the suppliers of the raw material, transport workers, control agencies, and public organizations are in the "firing zone." The purpose is to achieve changes in real life.

In connection with this, the idea of a complete intra-editorial board structural breaking is beginning to be discussed. The editorial board thinks that the farmstead principle of "settling" journalists in departments only gives birth to the scattering of forces. However, what if not departmental affiliation but public interest is placed at the center and integrated groups are established along the avenues: food, housing, health care, and crime? An institute of political and economic columnists is being introduced for the more qualified treatment of the problems that are central to newspapers. They are also planning to establish an editorial council which would include, besides journalists, the most respected public figures, specialists and scientists. Thanks to the conversion, they are solving questions by replacing obsolete printing equipment.

Not everything is going smoothly. However, the editorial board's work days are filled with actions and thought. The newspaper is alive; the search continues....

### Larger Slice of Reference Works Sought from Uzbek Publishing Pie

90US0906A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
6 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by A. Tikhkonov, leading scientific associate of the Russian Language Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, dr of philology, professor, honored scientist of the Uzbek SSR, and N. Khatamov, candidate of philology, honored cultural figure of the Uzbek SSR, director of the Fan Publishing House: "Without a Dictionary, As Without Hands"]

[Text] The demand for dictionaries and reference literature in the country is great, but their share in the total volume of book publishing constitutes only 5-6 percent of the annual volume of paper expended for books and pamphlets.

Things are not better in Uzbekistan. Uzbek lexicography of the past few years is represented by the first volume of the "Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar (UzSE)" [Encyclopedic Dictionary (UzSE)], "Ateisticheskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar" [Atheistic Encyclopedic Dictionary], 21 terminological dictionaries, 22 philological dictionaries, including 8 explanatory dictionaries, the remaining ones pertain to two-language school dictionaries (Russian-Uzbek, Persian-Uzbek, German-Uzbek, Hindi-Uzbek, French-Uzbek, etc.). They were published in eight publishing houses. 45 titles in 7 years is not very much. Insignificantly small is the edition size of these publications, let us say, the encyclopedic dictionary is published in an edition of 35,000 copies. It must be kept in mind that the dictionary is not only read in the republic. It would be a good thing to publish it in Russian, that is to make it accessible to all the peoples of the USSR.

The edition sizes of the other dictionaries also cannot satisfy the modest demands of the republic's population. The appearance of an encyclopedic publication "Uzbekskiy yazyk" [The Uzbek Language] is long overdue, in which the system and structure of the Uzbek language would be illuminated, taking into account the role of the outstanding writers in its formation and development.

The pen of the lexicographer has not yet touched an enormous number of terminological systems of the Uzbek language. Such dictionaries could play an exceptionally important role in the putting in order and standardization of the developing terminologies of a multitude of sciences and sectors of technology, especially those which for Uzbek reality are, though not new, but extremely promising and of great economic and scientific significance.

There are no grammatical, word-forming, historical, etymological, semantic, place name, poetic, and pronunciation dictionaries. There are no dictionaries of word combinations and rhythms. No dictionaries of epithets, metaphors, and comparisons, in which the popular and literary language is rich, and in which the Uzbek poetic tradition abounds, have been created.

The anthroponymic, pronunciation, and terminological dictionaries, the dictionary of Uzbek popular speech, loan (borrowed) words and others must be republished in revised form.

There is a need for a large (multi-volume) explanatory dictionary of the Uzbek language. Its preparation is being planned in the UzSSR Academy of Sciences in 10 volumes by the year 2000. Also needed is a complete dictionary of Uzbek proverbs and sayings, which would generalize the popular wisdom of the past epochs and our time. It is gratifying that an orthographic dictionary for 100,000 words is being created, which will, of course, be supplemented.

The necessity of the improvement of existing and the preparation of new dictionaries and various phrase-books with regard to production and life-like situations are especially great after the adoption of the Law "On the State Language of the Uzbek SSR". In Article 15 it is stated: "The Uzbek SSR guarantees the study of the Uzbek language as a fundamental subject of the educational plan in the general education schools, the vocational-technical schools, in groups and divisions of secondary specialized and higher education institutions, in which instruction is not conducted in the Uzbek language; a final examination is required in this subject." However, such a guarantee cannot be secured without the broad development of the dictionary business in the republic, without the necessary number and diversity educational dictionaries in Uzbek for the schools, vocational-technical schools, tekhnikums and VUZ's. This raises new and serious problems before the Ministry of Education, the State Committee for Press, the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, and the Ukituvchi and Fan publishing houses.

An enormous amount of work lies ahead in regard to the creation of bilingual and multilingual dictionaries. In Article 15 of the Law on Language it is even proclaimed: "In the Uzbek SSR the study of the Russian language is guaranteed as a basic subject of the educational plan in general education schools, vocational-technical schools, and in secondary specialized and higher education institutions, in which instruction is not conducted in Russian; a final examination is required in this subject." For this, it is necessary to develop and to implement as soon as possible a long-term program for the development of a system of educational dictionaries of the Russian language, Russian-Uzbek and Uzbek-Russian bilingual dictionaries. Up to now there are no dictionaries of the Russian language on the shelves of the bookstores. Because of their absence in the schools, the cramming of grammatical rules continues. The Uzbek school does not have a single educational dictionary of the Russian language that would fully correspond to the present requirements of science, school methodology, and didactics. The existing dictionaries, which are published irregularly and in scanty editions, are oriented to 4,000-5,000 words, which does not guarantee the fluent command of the Russian language by the pupils.

Uzbekistan is a multilingual republic. In its territory there live Karakalpaks, Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Tajiks, and the Crimean Tatars, Koreans, Tatars, and others are represented by a large number. Pressing, for example, is the creation of bilingual dictionaries of the Uzbek-Karakalpak (Karakalpak-Uzbek), Uzbek-Kazakh (Kazakh-Uzbek), and Uzbek-Tajik type. It is necessary to think over a series of multilingual dictionaries of the Uzbek-Kazakh-Kirghiz-Turkmen type.

The Uzbek lexicographers have great plans and desires. However, their realization is moving ahead extremely slowly. There are many reasons here: The lack of power and the small number of the dictionary subdivisions of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences; the weak introduction of modern computer technology and the complete absence of automation of dictionary work; the weak development of the card index base of lexicography; the absence of a special publishing house (editorial boards in publishing houses; a weak printing base, etc.

Work on dictionaries and encyclopedias is conducted in an organized manner only in the Academy of Sciences. In the Institute of Language and Literature imeni A. S. Pushkin, the department of lexicography and terminology is engaged in this. Only 21 staff members work in it. Of them, 11 are engaged in card index work, and 10—in compilation work. The Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia has a total of 50 staff members, who work on dictionaries and encyclopedias. The remaining lexicographers—enthusiasts—work on their plans, usually not having any guarantee that their labor of many years will see the light. It pains them: Having completed their work, they frequently have to pester various publishers, convincing indifferent publishers of the utility of the dictionary.

Dictionaries are not created without card indexes. The Academy card index of the Uzbek language is mainly oriented toward its vocabulary. It does not reflect even such system lexical phenomena as synonymic, antonymic, and other relations of words. We need special card indexes for synonyms and antonyms. We also need phrase, proverb, by-word, grammatical, word-formation, morpheme, pronunciation, etc. card indexes, i. e., card indexes that would contain information on all the parameters of the Uzbek word and all the units of the Uzbek language.

With this goal in mind, present-day Uzbek periodicals, fiction, living Uzbek speech and other sources should be developed in regard to all language parameters for a general card index. Such work should be fully automated. Modern computers are needed which can be used for card index as well as for compilation and editorial work. For the formation of the card index of the Uzbek language, evidently, 50-100 operators must be equipped with computers. The computer data bank of the Uzbek language could be formed in the Academy of Sciences and based in the Institute of Language and Literature, in

the department of lexicography and terminology. The manual card index could also be transferred to a computer index.

Thus, the card index and the compilers of the dictionaries will be in one department—forming a part of the Academy institute. The output of the products of this institute should be assumed by the Ukituvchi and Fan publishers. Editors in chief—UzSE. In these conditions, no one, as it were, would hamper the output of dictionaries.

Nevertheless, the difficulties here are inevitable; the department of lexicography and terminology itself, in charge of the card index and the preparation of dictionaries, will find itself in a four-step subordination: The institute, the department, the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, and the UzSSR State Committee for Press, and goes out to a publisher only through these steps of subordination, i. e., it does not have the necessary freedom of action and direct production contact with the publishing houses.

How to concentrate all the stages of the preparation of a dictionary, its publication, and even, perhaps, its sale in one organization, whose only and chief obligation will be the provision of the republic's population with dictionary and reference literature? It seems expedient to create a large dictionary association (firm) "Lugat". It will be in charge of all of the dictionary work in the republic, with its own card index base and computerized data system.

Within the structure of the association, departments of philological and terminological dictionaries and encyclopedias, bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, etc. could be created. Lugat should have its own publishing house, possessing the best modern printing base.

Naturally, the firm, which is managed collegially, is in need of an initial financial investment and economic support until the publication of the first dictionaries and encyclopedias. And then it will go over to self-financing and through its production will quickly repay the initial expenditures.

And one more question. The development of the dictionary work is unthinkable without the training of lexicographers. At the present time, no one in the republic is training them. The same situation prevails in the entire Union. The time has come to introduce a new specialty, "Lexicography", in the philological faculties of the universities and pedagogical institutes, which would secure the training of highly-skilled compilers and editors of dictionaries.



### Deputy Editor Views Delay in Press Law Approval

90US0906B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 3

[Interview with Valentin Andreyevich Logunov, USSR people's deputy, deputy editor of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, by V. Ivanov, special correspondent of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA: "...He Was Ready As One of the First"; date and place not specified; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA introduction]

[Text] This is how Valentin Andreyevich Logunov, USSR people's deputy, deputy editor of the newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, began our discussion concerning the Law on the Press. And really, according to his words, a curious picture turns up: The draft Law on the Press was prepared as one of the first, if not the very first. Soon there arose also its alternative variant. And nevertheless, since that time dozens, if not hundreds of laws and other acts were adopted and confirmed, but this one exists to this day in "embryonic" form, although it has already been adopted in a first reading by the Supreme Soviet...

"I understand everything," says Valentin Andreyevich, "hundreds of problems require urgent solution. On the agenda of the 3rd Session are such vitally important problems as the Chernobyl tragedy and its consequences, pension security, the fate of the Meskhetian Turks... But today we have proved to be in such a situation in general, have we not, that there are problems everywhere, and there is no end in sight. I am not saying that we should postpone even one of them. But we can—and must—find time in this session to adopt, finally, the Law on the Press. Because, as one of the deputies formulated it correctly, only through the press, and precisely—through a free press—can we attain something."

[Question] And you believe that in its present form the Law is already ready to be adopted?

[Answer] In principle, yes. It goes without saying, there will still be corrections and additions, but not significant ones, I think.

[Question] What do you consider the main thing in the new Law?

[Answer] The abolition of censorship. Up to now, the absence of "lita" [not further identified] has been and is a basic reason for the refusal to print this or that publication. The abolition of preliminary censorship removes this first and foremost obstacle.

[Question] But then another barrier arises. Our printing capacities are not prepared to cope with the flow of printed production which is pouring and has already poured into the printing presses with the abolition of censorship restrictions. Do you not see a double danger here? First of all, precisely the poverty of the printing trade can become a convenient screen behind which are

again concealed "the powers that be" in order to justify the refusal to print unwelcome publications? And secondly, will it not turn out that only money-bags, wealthy cooperatives, and other organizations that have a rich purse will be able to make their way through to the printing press, organizations that will begin "to whip up" commercial production in the form of various calendars, postcards, and other consumer goods, which in reality leave the consumer cold? While publications, which do not bring income, but are acutely necessary—charitable, educational and others of this sort—remain beyond the gates of the printing presses with their hand held out...

I do not want to look like a retrograde, but I am simply trying to explain for myself and for the readers all the aspects of the problem. Does it not turn out that we are confronted with a dilemma, where a good, important, and, without doubt, necessary Law somewhat outstrips our real possibilities?

[Answer] The law envisages, does it not, the registration and reregistration of all publications, beginning with PRAVDA and ending with the smallest informal leaflet. The Law states who must carry out the registration. If it is an all-union publication, Goskompechat [USSR State Committee for Press] attends to its registration, if it is an oblast, rayon, or city publication—the corresponding subdivision of the State Committee for Press in the oblast, rayon or city. Or—the ispolkoms of the local Soviets. The orientation of the publication may serve as the only foundation for a refusal to register. That is, it will be refused the right to exist if it contains appeals for a forceful overthrow of the existing order, if it propagates nationality strife or racial intolerance. Any other reasons may not be the reason for a refusal to register a publication. Having received the right, you can during a year—the Law stipulates this—solve your problems with paper, a printing base (search for a sponsor if you do not have funds of your own). Your permission remains in force. If in the course of a year you proved to be unable to fight your way through to everything necessary, then your registration certificate becomes invalid.

Here I see another problem. And in principle you are right in something. You know, practically the entire printing base in the country is the property of the CPSU. And if the party organs in the provinces for some reason are not interested in one reason or another, they will always find a reason not to admit it to the printing press. All right, it is necessary to create one's own base...

It seems to me that the transfer of the property of the printing presses to the management of the Soviets should become the first stage—the transition stage perhaps. At present, you know, Soviet power is power with a weak voice. It practically has only two publications: IZVESTIYA and NARODNYI DEPUTAT.

Although today the local Soviets are entirely able to create their own network of newspapers. You yourself, most likely like myself, studied, did you not, at the faculty of journalism and remember the course "The



Party and Soviet Press." But in actual fact, "party"—yes, but Soviet—no! We are talking about a division, and here and there they have already proceeded to this. Only sometimes—in a strange way. For example, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA removed from its "head" the flag of the Moscow City Soviet and began to appear only as the organ of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU. It is curious that VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, too, expressed the desire to become the newspaper only of the Moscow Party Gorkom. And it turns out that the party gorkom has two newspapers, and the Moscow City Soviet—nothing.

[Question] In the Baltic (Riga and Tallinn, not to mention Lithuania) the reverse process is taking place. Either the party-Soviet papers are becoming only the property of the local Soviets, or they go over completely into the category of the independent papers...

[Answer] Yes, here a great deal depends on local peculiarities. In Moscow, evidently, the party organs started to worry that they might lose influence on the audience... And, you know, both papers bring a considerable profit: I think 5 million a year, if not more. Not taking into account the supplements to VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA—announcements, advertising. Who voluntarily refuses money?! And on what will the party apparatus support itself? Incidentally, not a single ruble of these millions went to the Moscow City Soviet—everything was taken in by the Central Committee of the party and the Moscow Party Gorkom and thus it went—for dozens of years. In my view, the Moscow City Soviet today has the right to claim its share, calculated in the tens of millions of rubles. If necessary—through the court.

[Question] And what do you think, can the Law on the Press serve as a kind of detonator, capable of calling forth a chain reaction, the appearance of a series of legislative acts that will be able to create and strengthen the very material base of an independent press, without which it cannot stand on its feet?

[Answer] Of course, it can and it must. Already the Law on the Press will contain both a provision concerning the khozraschet of newspapers and a part on financial questions. On their basis—in development of this line—the following laws should be developed and adopted. Not only one and per se. The Law on the Press...

Following the newspapers of the Soviets, there must appear a whole branch of ecological publications, then—youth newspapers, moreover different ones, and not only Komsomol papers. You know, we virtually have no special student newspapers. Yes, there are many things we do not have...

Further, newspapers of different parties. On the basis of the same cooperatives... We did have in our country a

strictly KOOPERATIVNAYA GAZETA [Cooperative Newspaper], which was closed sometime at the end of the 1920's or in the 1930's.

And we again come against the problem of ownership. Today the entire printing trade is the property of the party. You know, approximately 15 years ago there took place virtually the expropriation of the printing presses and other printing equipment by the party.

Printing presses, you see, belonged to ispolkoms and constituted an integral part in the local industry sector. And then on the sly all this equipment was transferred to the party balance. The party committees began to receive in the first instance all the newest printing equipment, paper...

And how should it be? The size of an edition should be dictated by the market, by the demand for one publication or another. And I foresee that the edition sizes of purely party publications will begin to fall sharply. If, of course, free competition will be allowed, as it should be in the market. And this means that space, capacities, and paper will be freed up. Not long ago, I was in the GDR, and there, if I am not mistaken, of 99 printing presses belonging to the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] one remained. Of course, there the good will of the leadership of the party of democratic socialism was shown...

Such a path must be the only acceptable one. But for the time being obstacles are being raised in it.

[Question] But why, do you think, did precisely this Law become the only one with such a difficult fate?

[Answer] This, you see, is a political law. Perhaps, the only purely political law among all those which have up to now been submitted for discussion. This is a Law which undermines the party's monopoly on public opinion, and, in the end, on power. The party apparatus does not voluntarily want to give up its influence on the minds [of people] and on the cadres. And once again—money. From what sources is it to be taken to increase the salaries of party functionaries? But the press offers such sources, and very rich ones. To let go these sources—this means to undermine its financial foundations. One can hold on to millions of party officials, but if there is no money—it is necessary to manage with thousands. And if the percentage for party dues will be lowered still further? How then pay for the construction of dachas, sanatoria, etc.?

[Question] It turns out that the press is that small stone because of which, if it is pulled out of the foundation, the entire building can collapse.

[Answer] It turns out that way. And "these lads" understand all this very well.

[Question] All right, success to you in your struggle! And many thanks for the interesting and useful discussion.

**Minvodstroy Specialist Refutes 'Dilettante'  
Environmentalists on Central Asian Water**

*90WN0068B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
28 Mar 90 p 3*

[Interview with A.K. Kiyatkin by PRAVDA VOSTOKA Correspondent I. Khisamov: "The Aral, the Siberian—Aral Canal, Talkers and Reclamation Workers"]

[Text] The participants of the recent raid by Central Television to the Greater Aral Area were possibly one of the last witnesses of the notorious ship graveyard in the dried-up Muynak Bay. Now they intend to cut up the ribs and send them for resmelting. This operation will scarcely prove efficient as the nearest open-hearth furnace is many hundreds of kilometers away. On the other hand, we should not further plague the soul in showing to the pilgrims from the entire world the symbol of the sea's death. It is a pity that there is no such radical means for eliminating the consequences of the ecological disaster.

Governmental decrees have been adopted and international programs have been worked out and billions allocated. Special construction organizations have been organized. The question of saving the Aral and the Great Aral Area has involved the superior authorities, the Party Control Committee and even the procurator's office, the creative and public organizations and funds, the all-Union newspapers and magazines. Publications on the problems of the Aral and the Great Aral Area would make up a solid library.

But the sea is drying up faster and faster. In order to keep it even on the present level, it is essential annually to divert some 35-40 km<sup>3</sup> of water there. Last year the Amudarya did not provide the Aral with a single liter while the Syrdarya provided a little more than 3 km<sup>3</sup>. A threatening sanitary-epidemiological situation is persisting in the Greater Aral Area, the level of harmful impurities is rising and the water shortage is evermore acute.

Against such a lamentable background, our conversation was carried out with A.K. Kiyatkin, one of the nation's leading specialists on the problems of Central Asian water management. He was born and lived for many years in Uzbekistan and has participated in the designing and construction of a number of major hydraulic engineering works on our rivers. The department headed by him at Soyuzgiprovodkhoz [All-Union State Design and Research Institute for Water Management Construction] (Moscow) is engaged, in particular, in working out a scheme for the integrated use and protection of water resources in the Aral Basin. His research and calculations have been employed in the governmental program for improving the ecological and sanitary situation in the Aral Sea Region and strengthening the protection of the water and land resources in its basin.

[Khisamov] Azariy Kuzmich [Kiyatkin], you have been a permanent participant in the major social measures to save the sea, such as the Aral-88 Expedition and the

roundtable in Moscow. At the end of last year, a second session of the Aral Movement was held.

[Kiyatkin] At present, a general information collection is being prepared using its results. But for the writers this is a result but not for me. Generally speaking, attention must be drawn to the problem and this is being done. Representatives from other nations were also present at the same session. But no decisions were taken and no positions defined. They talked a little bit and then went their ways.

[Khisamov] But, it seems to me, the Committee for the Saving of the Aral has its definite stance. The volunteer workers are not satisfied with the official program for the Aral and Greater Aral Area, particularly as concerns the fate of the sea directly. Actually, there are plans to bring the drainage into the Aral up to 21-22 m<sup>3</sup>, but only by the end of the century. That is not enough, the sea will cease to exist and will be turned into several small lakes! But the committee in its appeal to all the republic workers has literally asserted that even now it would be possible, without spending a single kopeck, to annually supply the Aral with up to 30 km<sup>3</sup> of water.

[Kiyatkin] This, forgive me, is a statement by dilettantes and for dilettantes. It is essential to look the truth in the eyes. They have completely miscalculated in that the comprehensive reconstruction of the irrigation network in the Aral Sea Basin and which will take at least 25 billion rubles can only provide 10 km<sup>3</sup> of annual moisture savings. Enormous, years-long and expensive work is ahead and this is what the public must be made aware of. To promise the people an immediate and effortless realization of a dream is to play with fire.

In truth, at present the activists of the Aral Committee are endeavoring not to bring up this statement which was made clearly in the heat of the moment. They are adopting the principle proposed, in particular, by the Alma-Ata Prof A. Tursunov. He has proposed to issue orders to reduce water consumption by 20 percent and eliminate and release into the Aral all the reservoirs. But to abandon controlling the run-off would mean to ruin agriculture in the entire region and undermine hydroelectric power. Irrigated farming would remain only in the river floodplains. How then would people be fed?

[Khisamov] But certainly at the same time they have proposed altering the structure of agricultural production with a several-fold reduction in the share of the plantings of moisture-intensive cotton and rice, and the development of livestock raising, orchard raising, vegetable raising and viticulture.

[Kiyatkin] Yes, all that you have mentioned is essential for solving the food and other social problems. But this will not provide a saving in water! In the first place, the feed crops require even more moisture than does cotton. As for orchards, at least for the first 5 years until they are bearing fruit, the farmers would be growing vegetables between the rows. We must not allow the land to remain unproductive for so long. We have seen this in those

orchards which were planted during the Aral session. And certainly precisely the next 5 years will be critical for the destiny of the sea.

[Khisamov] And then, how is it possible by decree to reduce water consumption?

[Kiyatkin] It is impossible. The problem will not be solved by rigid administrative measures. Nature has provided little water as proof of this. All the reservoirs have been "worked" below the dead storage but even with this large areas under rice in the lower reaches have dried out. If even another 20 percent of water is released into the Aral, this will be a terrible blow to the regional economy.

[Khisamov] Certainly everyone is aware how wastefully we use water. Its consumption per hectare often is double the requirement. The same thing is true in industry and the municipal economy. Clearly only the introduction of a price for water will force the workers to reduce its consumption?

[Kiyatkin] This is a very complicated task. Without taking up the economic aspects, for example, including a price for water in the cost of the end product, we will speak solely of the technical aspect of the question. First of all, it is essential to organize the metering of the water. Basin directorates have been established in the Syrdarya and Amudarya and they are directly subordinate to the USSR Minvodstroy [Ministry of Water Resources Construction]. The metering and allocating of water are their concern. But here the local authorities have put up great resistance. Thus, Tajikistan and Turkmenia are not turning over to the directorate the headworks on their canals. And this eliminates the possibility of providing a count. The desire of the republics to control the water—the basis of life—is understandable. But what should we do if there is one source in five republics? Centralized management is indispensable but how can we convince the people?

[Khisamov] The republics are preparing to convert to cost accounting. How in this instance can the water problem be solved? Certainly a large portion of the drainage of the Central Asian rivers is formed in Tajikistan and Afghanistan. Conflicts are already known between the oblasts and republics over water. What will happen then?

[Kiyatkin] Possibly we will have to work out intergovernmental agreements, as is done in other countries. I foresee that this will be a painful and difficult process. It would be much more reliable at present to complete the years-long control of the drainage of the Amudarya (this has already been done for the Syrdarya) and monitor consumption from the center. At present, many managers have a psychology that the Aral is ours in common but the water flowing across my territory is my own. It is essential to abandon the local approach as it is as lethal as the departmental one.

[Khisamov] Participating in the Aral Session was your American colleague from the University of Western Michigan, Prof Philipp Maclean. He asserted that the measures outlined in the USSR to increase the efficient use of water by 15-20 percent will not achieve the goal. An all-encompassing modernization of the irrigation systems, according to his estimates, will cost up to 100 billion rubles. Moreover, he feels that even with the most careful water-conserving measures the water resources in Central Asia are not sufficient for satisfying the future economic and social requirements, let alone to preserve the sea. He has proposed that the Soviet government possibly in the 1990s will be forced to return to the project of diverting a portion of the drainage of the Siberian rivers into Central Asia "not only for water management but also for political and social reasons." What would you say about this?

[Kiyatkin] I have also met with Prof Maclean and have read his articles. He is the most prominent specialist in the United States and probably in the foreign world on the water problems of the USSR. I must say that his conclusions largely coincide with mine. For me and for many specialists, the current water crisis is not unexpected. We wrote about this 20 and more years ago. During the years since the revolution, the population in the region has risen from 7 million to almost 40 million. By the year 2000, it will be 50 million. At present, for each inhabitant there is just 0.17 of a hectare of irrigated land. And this figure will steadily drop. How are we to feed the people, provide them with employment, and ensure social goods with such a water shortage? Well, we can invest billions and save a score cubic meters. But again they will not reach the Aral. The population is growing and along with this the demand for water.

[Khisamov] It turns out that it is either an ecological disaster or an economic one. But then this is the choice between a pistol and a knife....

[Kiyatkin] I am profoundly convinced that there is no choice here. We must return as quickly as possible to the project of diverting the Siberian water. Without this the Central Asian Region will have no prospects, even at the beginning of the 21st Century.

[Khisamov] Is your appeal reaching the public awareness? Certainly you are a representative of the odious Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources], that is, now the Minvodstroy. The water experts are accused of no more or no less than ruining our nature, having wasted many billions of the people on this. The USSR Supreme Soviet has also expressed a harshly negative attitude toward your department, having twice refused to confirm the candidate minister submitted by the government. The plans for reallocating the water resources have been declared to be almost an attempt at genocide.

[Kiyatkin] We absolutely do not doubt that the Siberian—Aral Canal must be built sooner or later, there is no other way. The water of the Ob of course should not

arrive in the Aral before all reserves for the economic use of what still exists in the region have been put to work. However, in violation of a governmental decree, even research work on this problem has been stopped. All links have been broken between the many scores of enterprises involved in the project. We realize that at present such a matter simply cannot be raised for the nation. But it will require a minimum of 10 years just for the designing. So we must think not merely about today.

At present, it is generally fashionable to denounce the central departments. And it turns out that the territorial authorities have an axe to grind. I remember that the initial project which we began to develop in 1969 was aimed exclusively at supplying water for the Aral. Later the oblasts of Western Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan began demanding this water. Under the pressure of the leadership of these regions, the Union government was forced to change the specifications for the project. The route of the canal became almost a thousand kilometers longer and, as a minimum, twice as expensive. And most importantly, the initial goal of aiding the dying sea was deferred. According to the last project, the water would not even reach there....

[Khisamov] So you are proposing to return to the initial project of providing Siberian water for the Aral and not giving it to anyone else?

[Kiyatkin] I was merely trying to show that the Aral had been sacrificed to economic interests and upon the initiative of the very republics in its basin. Here I do not intend to condemn them. The burden on the natural environment in Central Asia is too great and this is an objective fact recognized by all. Hence, either people will have to be removed from here or water will have to be supplied. Yes, moisture in the region is irrationally used. But in order to save it, it is essential to spend colossal amounts on releveling a majority of the lands, concealing water in pipes and hoses, placing film on the crops, introducing drip and other economic methods of irrigation and automating water distribution. This would mean many, many billions.

[Khisamov] Savings is expensive, is that not a paradox? "Poverty is the key factor for the destruction of the environment," was how it was put by the former Norwegian Prime Minister G.H. Brudtland before an International Commission on the Environment and Development. According to the estimates of specialists, in order to completely solve the question of saving water, from 8,000 to 18,000 rubles must be invested in our country for each hectare. How many years would it take to pay off such reconstruction? And if we recall that our republic has over 4 million of these hectares, where are we going to get so much money?

[Kiyatkin] In the first place, these measures will immediately produce a large increase in the yield and, hence, profit. Secondly, Uzbekistan already has a good base for the production of pipes, hoses, adapters, siphons, film and other equipment for saving water. At present, the

farms are not willing to take them as these are expensive. But if there were to be a price for water and correspondingly the price for agricultural products would rise, the attitude should change.

Of course, we should be aware of the scope of the forthcoming work. The republics of the region cannot handle it alone. The efforts of the entire nation are needed. And let me repeat: after order has been instilled in water utilization, we should immediately resolve the problem of delivering Siberian water to Central Asia. The very rich natural and economic potential of this region should in the future work for the prosperity of the peoples residing here and for the flourishing of the entire nation.

### **Azerbaijani Scientists Prepare Plan to Combat Caspian Pollution**

*90WN0068A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 12 Apr 90 p 3*

[Interview with Corresponding Member of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences A.G. Kasymov, by Azerinform Correspondent N. Barskiy: "They Are Putting the Sea Under Protection; the Comprehensive Khazar Scientific-Technical Program Has Been Adopted"]

[Text] Our Caspian has truly suffered greatly and just the Baku Sewage System alone discharges over 250 million m<sup>3</sup> of waste over a year with more than 7,000 tons of oil products. A high share of its pollution comes from the industrial and household wastes of the cities of the Russian Federation, the other republics, the large industrial centers located in the basins of the Volga and Ural. The sea is heavily afflicted and specialists have stated this with alarm repeatedly, showing the danger of the polluting of the coastal strip in the near future if, of course, they do not break the dangerous chain of actions which threaten its criminal polluting and is irresponsible for today's and tomorrow's generations.

At present, scientists have come to the defense of the sea. The Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences has adopted the Republic Khazar Comprehensive Scientific-Technical Program. It, in the idea of its developers, should become a shield against the industrial and sewage wastes and should help the sea recover its resources for self-purification and maintaining an ecological equilibrium. At a presidium session, the Corresponding Member of the Republic Academy of Sciences A.G. Kasymov was approved as the program's leader.

The first question we asked of him in the conversation clearly demanded a very frank reply:

[Barskiy] Abdul Guseynovich [Kasymov], understandably the flooded beaches, the swept away piers and the Maritime Wave Park are the result of natural phenomena which do not depend upon man. We can do nothing about the rise in the level of the Caspian and here, as is known, common world mechanisms are at work leading to major transgressions and equally large

regressions, to the advance of the sea onto land and then its retreat and these are as yet beyond human control. But certainly the lethal economic or, as scientists are fond of saying, the anthropogenic action on an unique body of water, on the Caspian, so important and dear for everyone living on its shores—is this really something predetermined? Is it impossible really to prevent its ever-accelerating slide toward death?

[Kasymov] It is bitter to admit but with all the importance of the Caspian for our republic, we actually for many years limited ourselves to merely recording the deteriorating state of the sea.

The adopted program provides for a long-range study of the Caspian Sea for the period up to the year 2005 and the bringing together for the purposes of protecting the sea the academy and sectorial scientific research institutes from the institutes of geology and geography to the Scientific Production Association for Space Research of the USSR Glavkosmos [State Space Administration] as well as the republic ministries and departments. Prepared under assignment of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, it proposes the fundamental elaboration of the bases and methods for forecasting, surveying and assessing the biological and mineralogical resources of the sea.

[Barskiy] If not upon assignment, then out of the imperative of the heart of all those 'involved' for their entire lives with the Caspian.

[Kasymov] The rebuke can be accepted, but this time it is a question of a truly very responsible assignment, a sort of social imperative from society to the scientists. The Union organizations, the scientists and specialists from the other republics should take a most active part in carrying out this action.

The elaboration of the program has necessitated a comprehensive approach to studying the natural resources of the Caspian. In the coastal zone are located very important industrial facilities and population points, large ports, an extensive network of the republic resort system and it would be hard to overestimate the role of the sea as a climate-forming factor in the entire region.

The main purpose is to be the elaboration of effective methods for nature utilization and the protecting of the Caspian region against further pollution. Before proposing specific measures on the rational, integrated use of the sea's natural resources, we must clearly make a detailed study of the hydrological and hydrochemical regime of the Caspian, the influence of fluctuations of its level on the coastal zone and as a whole on the ecosystem, the state and prospects of the food supply, the biology of valuable commercial fish and the geological and geochemical indicators in the aim of prospecting for supplies of hydrocarbons and their extraction.

[Barskiy] So, Abdul Guseynovich, it is a question of the scientific aspects of a long-range study of the Caspian

and this time clearly more profound and extensive than before. However, for the actual salvation of the sea, there must be truly nationwide efforts and help from the growing ecological Green movement and other organizations and associations and indeed everyone who is involved in the fate of the great sickman, as one might now style the Khazar and which has given the name to the new program.

[Kasymov] An Institute for the Ecology of the Caspian Sea could act as one of the main healers and there has long been a need for organizing such an institute.

### Work of Chernobyl Union Described

90UN1772A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
19 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with "Chernobyl" Union Board Chairman Professor G.F. Lepin, doctor of technical sciences by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent A. Sokol: "The Concerns of the 'Chernobyl' Union"; date, place not specified]

[Text] The all-union conference that took place in Kiev in October of last year gave a ticket to life to the new public organization the "Chernobyl" union. In particular, this has been covered by A.P. Gamza, the chief of the Aleksandriyskaya geological prospecting expedition, Kirovograd Oblast; N.Kh. Kazantsev, a former resident of the city of Pripyat, now living in the Cherkassy area, and S.I. Fedorenko of the Crimea.

Board Chairman Professor G.F. Lepin, doctor of technical sciences, speaks about the "Chernobyl" union. He has lived and continues to live in Minsk. He has been in Chernobyl since late 1986. He has been involved in the evacuation of Pripyat, and the decontamination of the roof of the third power unit. He is now a senior foreman of the decontamination department working in the zone of the "Kompleks" enterprise.

[Correspondent] Georgiy Fedorovich! Since your organization is new, the readers are primarily interested in whom it unites.

[Lepin] The "Chernobyl" Union unites the participants in the cleanup of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, as well as individuals who suffered from this accident. Ours is a voluntary, public organization.

[Correspondent] What are its goals?

[Lepin] Our main goal is to help the victims, to defend their interests. Approximately 600,000 military and civilian persons have passed through Chernobyl; an incomparably greater number live in territories contaminated by radiation. The state has helped and is helping the victims. Several Government decrees, and the President's ukase on this matter have recently been made public. Yet far from everything has been done. Many Chernobyl people have proven to be socially undefended, and frequently are not getting attention. Our

union is fighting so that such a thing not repeat itself. Incidentally, the slogan of our organization is "Humaneness and compassion!"

I would like to highlight this aspect. Even though the 4th anniversary of the Chernobyl tragedy is drawing near, the public conception of it is still far removed from the reality. Correspondingly, so is the attitude toward the victims. We set as our goal telling the people the entire truth.

The Chernobyl people experienced a nuclear fire not in theory, but in real life. And life calls upon them to fight—against nuclear war, for safe nuclear technology. We want to have our say abroad, too. There is an idea for the long term: to create a museum in Kiev, perhaps a center, "Chernobyl and the World." All mankind must know about the Chernobyl tragedy and its consequences. Otherwise, we will not learn our lesson.

[Correspondent] Six months have passed since the "Chernobyl" Union conference. What have you managed to do in this time?

[Lepin] We have established contacts with state organs, with organs of power in the provinces; in the beginning, they did not accept our organization. We are currently meeting with representatives of the governments of the country and the republics, and with the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The Kiev party obkom allocated us a work room in their building. And the main thing is that the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has finally registered our union.

All of this has had a positive influence on our affairs. Union representatives have gone to Moscow to the session of the Government committee, and participated on an equal level with ministerial and departmental leaders in the preparation of a Government draft decree on privileges for participants in the cleanup. Not everything the union proposed made it into the given document, but its importance is obvious. It has already been adopted; that has been reported.

Cooperation with the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health is being established. The attitude toward the Chernobyl people changed noticeably when Yu. Spizhenko became minister. The new minister demonstrates participation, and aspires to break the stereotype according to which medicine is supposedly incapable of helping the ailing Chernobyl person, let alone to cure him. Something has already been done in this direction.

With the assistance of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health, the union established contact with the Dnepropetrovsk NII [Scientific Research Institute] of Gastroenterology, an institution that employs untraditional treatment methods, utilizing only medicines from grasses and plants. We have already directed individual patients to this institute. Its director, Yu. Filipov, offers a broad treatment program. Free.

The Kiev city diagnostic center has flung open its doors to the Chernobyl people—this is a powerful, well-equipped institution. The union has been granted the opportunity to send up to 10 people per day here for observation: those who worked in the zone for a long time, who received high radiation, and naturally, those who are ill. There are two more analogous centers in the republic; there is an agreement that they will help us as well.

Apiary products are useful to the radiation victims: honey, pollen, royal jelly, bee glue, and especially bee venom. The union is taking measures to organize the wide production of these products, and to create centers for their application. This problem is already being taken up in the apiaries of the All-Union NII of Beekeeping.

The creation of specialized rehabilitation points is proposed, with 40-50 people in each. The site for two of them has already been chosen: in Krasnaya Polyana near Adler and in Moldavia's Orgiyevskiy Rayon. It is hard to overestimate the importance of this work. Yet for the time being, it is in the organizational phase. We are asking for help. We will be grateful for everything: for material support, for assistance, for good advice.

Our union has repeatedly proposed that an all-union subbotnik be held and that the funds earned during it be transferred to the victims of the Chernobyl accident. We are glad that the country's authoritative public organizations and many labor collectives are in favor of this. We believe that the subbotnik will take place. We are also preparing for the Chernobyl telethon.

There is no need to say a great deal about what has been done. Our union is still in an organizational period.

[Correspondent] What are the union's local organizations? And which of them is in best fighting form, and how did it get to be so?

[Lepin] There are territorial organizations, city, oblast, republic. There are production organizations. They are created primarily in the labor collectives that work in the zone, that participate in the cleanup after the accident.

The country's first organization of Chernobyl people was created in Kharkov. That was in August 1988. Today, this is an oblast association, numbering almost 2,500 members. Acting in conjunction with local organs of government, the Kharkov residents managed to develop practical work. In particular, they render feasible material assistance to those in need; they have gotten free transportation on city transit. They allocated the Chernobyl people a special pharmacy, without waiting for special decisions.

Association members have the corresponding identification. It contains notations on payment of membership dues. Incidentally, the problem of dues has not yet been resolved in the charter procedure. For the time being, this is a voluntary matter. The union sets high hopes for donations.

[Correspondent] What troubles the union's board today?

[Lepin] Issues of organizational fortification. Our organizations, some regional, some primary, are functioning in 11 union republics. The figure would seem to be impressive. Yet the union unites an insignificant portion of the Chernobyl people. There is one reason for that: People do not know of our existence.

A number of new organizations emerged after the conference that took place in Kiev—in Barnaul, for example, and in Belaya Tserkov in the Kiev area. A kray association is being formed in Krasnoyarsk. But in Kiev, for example, there is no city organization. Nor is there a Ukrainian republic organization.

The convocation of the first congress of the "Chernobyl" Union is planned in Kiev in June of this year. It is desirable that those who wish to do so create their own organization by that time and inform our headquarters of this.

[Correspondent] Incidentally, our readers are asking for your mailing address.

[Lepin] This is it: 255620 Chernobyl, "Chernobyl" Union. The following numbers may be called: In Chernobyl, 5-16-19; in Kiev, 296-84-95.

### **Belorussian Chernobyl-Related Evacuation Difficulties**

90UN1688A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 3

[Reportage by BELTA correspondents K. Bolotovich, Ye. Gorelik, V. Kotov, I. Kuksa, N. Nazarovich, and K. Severinets in "Zone of Special Concern" rubric: "That Bitter Word 'Resettlement'"]

[Text] It is only a few days until that sad date, April 26, four years since the explosion at the Chernobyl AES, which separated the lives of millions of people into two very different periods: before and after the tragedy. Even in terms of history four years is not such a small time. But can we say today that they have been used to the best of even our not so great possibilities, that everything has been done to alleviate the fate of those unfortunate people? Alas, after the first days and months, filled with heroism, selflessness and courage in making extraordinary decisions, there began an unjustifiably long period of administrative and coordination debates, fruitless scientific arguments and reassuring sermons about the safety of living in regions contaminated with radionuclides. And all of this under a shroud of secrecy, in conditions of strictly dosaged, selective, in effect rationed distribution of information.

Perhaps that is why only towards the end of the fourth year, and not without public prodding, a hasty decision has finally been made to resettle almost 7,500 families from 112 communities in areas where, it turns out, nothing was done to ensure the residents' safety. It has been decided to do this urgently, not over three years, as had

been initially planned, but by the end of this year. Moreover, the decision of the Belorussian CP Central Committee and Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers also specifies: 628 families from Gomel Oblast and 470 families from Mogilev Oblast who have opted to move to clean areas of those oblasts, as well as 1610 families who will go to other areas of the republic, will be resettled in the first quarter of this year.

How are these decisions being implemented, who has shared the difficulty of leaving family homes with those being resettled, and how are they greeted at their new residences? BELTA correspondents sought answers to these and other questions in both the departure areas and destinations of the republic.

### **Gomel Oblast**

Passing by one of the sturdy, well cared for houses which abound in Bartolomeyevka, I heard a sigh like a scream: "Oh Lord, why have you sent this scourge upon us?" What are the sins of the peasants of Vitkovo, where to this day there isn't a home without an icon and where the olden rites and holidays have been so movingly and faithfully observed since time immemorial?

We stop at a house where veterans Fedor Dmitriyevich and Irina Averyanovna Gapeyev are still living, if you can call uncertainty and waiting for something to happen living.

"I worked for more than 30 years as a milkmaid, but what farm needs an old woman now?" Irina asks with tears in her eyes. "My husband and I would move in with our children in Gomel, but they say we can't: He still has four more years until he is entitled to a pension, and only pensioners can get a residence permit [propiska] in the city."

The only resident on a street with the symbolic name Novaya [New] is the 23-year-old chairman of the rural soviet ispolkom, Vladimir Prikhodko, with his young wife and 5-month child.

"I could leave, of course," he says. "I have a suitable profession: agronomist. But I'm sorry for the people. I'll remain here until all are resettled. I'm only afraid it may drag out for a long time, because the question of old people and people of prepension age hasn't been decided yet. So I've allowed them to plant gardens. At least it's some distraction from worrisome thoughts."

But the sovkhoz fields are silent. A special commission came to the conclusion that the local fields here are unsuitable for cultivation. Just like that: all this time the scientists and experts were guaranteeing the suitability of the local produce, but now, it turns out, there is an entirely different opinion.

But it is impossible not to note some very obvious blunders: All the funds that have been sunk into the ground, even in that same Bartolomeyevka. Streets have been asphalted, repeated decontamination procedures



were carried out, house roofs were changed, and the Vysokoborskiy State Farm has built eighteen residential houses already after the accident...

**Editor's comment:**

We were told at the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers that out of almost three thousand families scheduled for resettlement in the first quarter, 1,937 had been resettled by 10 April... The rest are still waiting. And another piece of information, this time from our correspondent: 2,600 apartments which had previously been authorized by the appropriate services for construction in Gomel Oblast are now, it appears, unsuitable for tenancy, because they do not meet sanitary requirements. Even small radiation doses are counterindicative for people resettled from the strict control zone.

**Brest Oblast**

Brest Oblast has been allocated 18 million rubles for eliminating the consequences of the accident; funds are available for two-thirds of this sum. Almost all monies and materials are being provided to the three rayons of the Polessye zone which suffered most. For that reason there is no talk of building new communities in other areas and compactly resettling people from Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts. For the 340 families to be received in Brest Oblast housing has already been reserved.

But so far only about two hundred families have moved to Brest Oblast. What is the reason?

"We were to have received 27 families from Khrasnopolskiy Rayon, by 1 April, but only five arrived," we were told by Nikolay Babey, deputy chairman of the Kobrin Rayon Ispolkom. "We ourselves travelled to the Mogilev Oblast several times and talked with people. Everything seems to suit them except for one thing: we can't resettle an entire street or village, as they are asking. That is because only three or four houses have been set aside on each of our farms."

But another problem has also arisen. Many of the new domiciles have been vacant for six months or more, even though there is a waiting list for them in every farm. In many ways this determines the situation with personnel, which is, of course, in short supply. That is why the time has come for the republican commission for eliminating the accident consequences and the new Belorussian parliament to clearly define all resettlement organizational problems. More effective help is needed on the part of the Gomel and Mogilev authorities. Their desire to retain labor resources is understandable. But this is, after all, an extraordinary situation, it is a question of the health of people.

"It is necessary to think once again about the expedience of building all the new villages in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts and to talk with the people who are to be resettled," says Vladimir Khrámenkov, chief of the oblispolkom department for eliminating accident consequences. "If they insist on resettling in one place in large

groups, this must be taken into account when assigning the allocated funds. The building organizations of our oblast would build new communities faster here, where they have a good material base. For example, a large meat-packing plant is being built at the Belovezhskiy State Farm in Kamenetskiy Rayon. If funds and materials were simultaneously assigned for housing, dozens of people would soon be able to receive shelter and suitable jobs."

**Editor's commentary:**

This conclusion is also confirmed by the following facts. Fifty homes have been built at the Druzhba Collective Farm of Dobrushenskiy Rayon, but people are refusing to move into them. A school and clinic have been built in Karmaneyki and Vysokoye villages, Krasnopol'skiy Rayon, respectively, and a village soviet building was built at a cost of more than 200,000 rubles in Mikulichi village, Braginskiy Rayon. But today no one has any use for these new structures, because the villages are within the evacuation zone.

Aren't we paying too high a price for the recent total concealment of the truth—for the benefit of various departments—and for the meek acceptance of top secrecy status when it was necessary to sound the alarm?

**Grodno Oblast**

At the end of January, the general meeting of the Collective Farm imeni 24th CPSU Congress, Checherskiy Rayon, submitted a request to the republican government and the Gomel oblispolkom to "move the farm in its entirety" to a newly built community on the territory of the Ozery Collective Farm not far from Grodno. However, no substantive response has been received to this day. Whose fault is that?

The Grodno people propose to build a community of 100 houses on the Ozery Collective Farm instead of the one they were instructed to build in Rudnya-Marimonova village near Gomel. They justify this wish of theirs with two reasons: The insistent request of the residents of the affected area, and the conclusion of a commission of the republican Ministry of Health, which considers that the degree of radionuclide contamination of the locality where the community had been initially planned may require another resettlement of the residents. We can't say what predominates here: reason, humanitarianism, or a practical desire to improve their personnel affairs. Especially as the Grodno people's justification is quite convincing. It is also supported by a representative of the Gomel Oblast ispolkom, who visited Ozery Collective Farm three weeks ago. He promised to let his department's decision be known in the very nearest future. However, it never reached Grodno.

"We are at a loss what to do now," complain the managers of Grodnopromostroy construction association, which is to build the community. "Are we to start



building at the Gomel site or wait for new orders? Time is passing, but the homes for the new settlers must be built this year".

#### Vitebsk Oblast

In Vitebsk Oblast the people are prepared to welcome the resettlers with generous feelings and open hearts, but all too often with empty pockets.

Thus, initially it was planned to settle 601 families in the oblast. But only 130 have moved.

"We would be happy to accommodate more, but there is only so much we can do," comments Vyacheslav Rusakovich, chief of the Labor and Social Problems Department of the Vitebsk Oblast Ispolkom. "Especially since the republican government is offering virtually no help, aside from sundry decrees and instructions: neither money, nor materials, nor specialists. We must be realistic: without a well-coordinated action program covering all departments and organizations more or less associated with eliminating the consequences of the accident without exception we will only add more problems and mark time. Everything must be taken into account, from construction to the acquisition of household effects."

It can't be said that the Vitebsk people are neglecting resettlement affairs. More, they dispatched teams to Mogilev and Gomel Oblasts to study their future co-residents requirements and wishes.

Here is what V. Rusakovich noted in his report on the trip:

"People would like to resettle in groups of 10-15 families from the same farm. But so far we have no such possibilities. Many ask to be resettled in new, specially built communities. We are now building such communities in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts.

"Most families would like to move to areas where conditions are better than in Vitebsk Oblast, so they are in no hurry to move, because they have already received compensation for structures, household plots, property... In some cases resettlement is being delayed on purpose..."

#### Editor's comment:

There have been numerous breakdowns in the coordination and cooperation between various aspects of the "resettlement" program, numerous gaps between moving out and moving in efforts. For example, two families from Narovlya arrived in Shumilino with all their property, including furniture, rugs, and even a dog; its radioactive contamination was tens of times higher than the permissible norm. Was the property checked on the spot, and who allowed to ship it across the entire republic? What, in that case, is the worth of the best regulations and directives, if their is no control over their implementation?

And secondly, people took their old sofas and mattresses because they have no hope of buying any at their new residence. Indeed, supplies of many goods in short supply have been increased by one-third for the inhabitants of areas that have suffered and, naturally, reduced somewhat for those whom the radioactive cloud fortunately did not reach. In such conditions it would apparently be fair to give the resettlers preferential treatment in acquiring necessary goods in their new places of residence, but not to the detriment of the local folk who have been on waiting lists for a year or two.

#### Mogilev Oblast

The storks have returned to Mikheyevka village in the recently restored Dribinsk Rayon. As though vying with the builders, they proceeded to build their own dwellings. They say that returning birds are a good omen.

Not so quickly as the storks' nests, but a new community is going up at Mir Collective Farm. The personnel of the local Dribinskaya Experimental Base donated land, livestock facilities, machines and seeds. They shared everything fraternally.

The collective began to build the community itself, on a cost-accounting basis. The first resettlers have already celebrated housewarmings. Among them is the Gromov family.

"We built the house on an old estate," Gromov said. "The orchard was preserved, and we will have a garden of our own. We already have some hogs and think of getting a cow. Life is beginning anew."

Construction of the Mir Collective Farm community has been assigned to the No 2 Trust of the Vitebsk Oblast construction organization. This year it is planned to build 130 apartments. But the beginning of work was delayed, and from the outset there have been many foul-ups.

"We have been idle for two years," concreter Yuriy Muravyov and rafter installer Nikolay Pavlov complained. "We are working two hours a day because there are no materials. Power hasn't been supplied for the concrete mixer, and there is no automobile crane. Meals have not been organized, and we are soliciting and buying potatoes, cabbage and eggs from local residents. One person was assigned from the team so that someone at least would cook something."

#### A Brief Afterword:

The program for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident is envisaged to span many years. How good the results will be and how well the substantial people's funds will be used will depend in many ways on whether the public will manage to go over from good intentions and protest rallies to continuous, effective control over implementation of the planned projects. It seems to us that this difficult but noble mission could be undertaken by people's deputies of all ranks, from village soviet

to the national parliament. There are almost 50,000 of them in the republic. This is a huge force.

### **Belorussian Construction Funds Redirected to Chernobyl Resettlement**

*90UN1688B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELRUSSIYA in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 3*

[Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers' Information Department: "In the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpt] With the purpose of accelerating the resettlement of people from the radioactive contamination zone, it was decided to accept the proposals of the Grodno and Mogilev Oblast and Minsk City Ispolkoms to reduce the volume of construction of production facilities in 1990 and allocate the funds, material and technical resources made available as a result for building new housing in uncontaminated areas. This question, which has given rise to quite a few hasty clarifications and frequent debates, opened the regular meeting of the Presidium of the Republican Council of Ministers.

Attention of the chairmen of the Brest, Vitebsk, Gomel and Minsk Oblispolkoms was drawn to facts of irresponsibility towards implementing government assignments because of failure to submit proposals for reducing industrial construction. In general, discussion of the "Chernobyl" issue has once again shown that some executives talk more about their understanding of the general plight instead of proving this with active, concerned participation in overcoming it.

The Government has demanded that the chairmen of the aforementioned ispolkoms should forthwith consider and submit to the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers proposals regarding the expedience of building new projects, mothballing a number of continuing construction projects, or reducing the volume of construction and installation work at them. The oblispolkoms have been given assignments regarding the amount of housing to be built and commissioned this year using the funds and resources made available. Altogether this means an additional 1,110 houses and apartments. A total of 3,110 houses will be built this year. [Passage omitted]

### **Cuba Offers to Treat More Chernobyl Victims**

*90UN1838A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Apr 90 p 2*

[Kiev RATAU: "Press Conference in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] On April 18 the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) held a press conference on the humane action of the government of the Cuban Republic. They accepted children for medical treatment from the Ukraine, who suffered as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station (AES). The department of information ministry and

consulate-general of the Cuban Republic in Kiev organized the conference. Consul General S. Lopes informed Ukrainian press corps representatives about the program established for the Soviet children in Cuba. He also noted that his country is prepared to accept 10,000 more children for treatment.

Specialists of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health, having accompanied the children to Cuba, told about the collaboration with Cuban colleagues.

Specifically, the Cubans proposed deliveries of diagnostic equipment to the Ukraine. Medics of the fraternal country are prepared to share programs for treatment of leukemia.

They answered journalists' questions.

### **Ukrainian SSR Children of Chernobyl Society Formed**

*90UN1838B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Apr 90 p 3*

[Article by RATAU correspondents A. Moyseyeva and L. Pavlyukh: "'Children of Chernobyl'" Society Created to Defend Children"]

[Text] With grief and pain Chernobyl entered our life four years ago, dividing the people's fate into "before" and "after." The empty streets of Pripjat, abandoned schools, homes, rusty children's swings, barbed wire "zones"...

A photo exhibit, prepared by active workers of the Ukrainian Culture Fund city department, depicts these scenes. It became the original prologue of the founding conference in Kiev, where the Ukrainian republic society "Children of Chernobyl" was created.

This volunteer organization was called upon to unite the efforts of all who helped during the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station (AES). Labor collectives, State institutions, public organizations, churches and individuals were also asked to give aid to the children of Chernobyl, deprived of health and childhood. Thousands of those who were radiated, as the participants at the conference noted, contracted diseases of the immune and hemogenic systems, gastrointestinal tract, vision, thyroid gland, and were evacuated. They required not only continuous medical care and use of uncontaminated products, but also regular attention from society.

Regulations were implemented and basic program goals of the society were discussed, which firmly adhere to the principles: a generation's health and a guarantee of life on earth. Ruling organs were elected—a council and an inspection committee. S. N. Kovalenko was elected chairman of the council. He is a former design engineer of the Yupiter Plant in Pripjat and current assistant chief of the design department of the Mayak Plant in Kiev.

"Our pain focuses on the children of Chernobyl," said S. N. Kovalenko to the RATAU correspondent. "They have been robbed of childhood for four years already: they cannot bathe, walk into the forest, or touch anything. And although some scientists try to reassure us, disease is increasing. The children have deteriorating memory, frequent dizziness, and loss of consciousness. It is necessary to examine, treat and to restore the children's health. We are told that our children are given general examinations, but these take place in poorly equipped rayon polyclinics. Specialized medical institutions and medicinal preparations are necessary. There are two alternatives: one is to pretend this problem does not exist—and wait; the other is to take action. We choose the second.

The initiator of the movement was Tatyana Aleksandrovna Lukina. The first to become involved with this issue were mothers from the Vatutin rayon in Kiev, who initially created the organization "Children of Chernobyl" on November 22, 1989.

Many associate it with the Ukrainian Trade Union Council, because sanitation comes under its authority.

Today in the Chernobyl movement two "Chernobyl" unions exist—one in Kiev and one in Moscow. There are veterans of Chernobyl, veterans who helped during the aftermath of the accident, workers, soldiers, and physicians. There are many organizations, each trying to solve the children's problem its own way. We decided to unite the efforts of them all. We are convinced: one cannot treat children and adults separately, but we think that public health care and treatment are necessary.

The founding "Chernobyl Union" conference on July 15 will dot all the i's. There the common concept, common regulations, and program will be worked out, whose chief concern will be the Chernobyl children's branch. The main thing is that we are unified in our aspirations to give all possible aid to the children.

"The children's fate, especially those living in Pripjat, Chernobyl, and in the 'strict regime' zone, disturbs everyone," observed the vice-president of the Ukrainian Trade Union Council S. S. Yevtushenko. "We think that this act of charity, which society is performing, merits all kinds of support. For problems connected with the after-effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, it is necessary to unite the efforts of all—even the smallest movements."

First and foremost, trade unions are interested in the children's hygiene, so that they will receive ecologically uncontaminated products. There is not an adequate number of paid vacation trips available to health resorts. Additionally, many ministries suggest sending them to rayons such as Norilsk, Ufa and Magadan, but we simply cannot. Questions about nutrition and way of life have not been resolved everywhere. In a word, questions concerning sanitation, healthy nutrition, and quickest transfer of kids to an ecologically uncontaminated zone,

are the number one priority for the State, trade unions, and for everyone who is not indifferent to the fate of the suffering.

### **Ukrainian SSR Official on Chernobyl Evacuations**

90UN1817A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian

26 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with Konstantin Ivanovich Masik, deputy chairman, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent A. Sokol; interview in Kiev, time and date not given; two photographic illustrations omitted: "Evacuation: An interview with Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers K.I. Masik"]

[Text] [Sokol] Konstantin Ivanovich! What is the Chernobyl situation today? What worries you most of all?

[Masik] For quite a while, the Chernobyl tragedy has been viewed as a major industrial accident that can be coped with in the foreseeable future. Unfortunately, that is not so. Many feel that we shall not succeed in eliminating the Chernobyl consequences in the next 100 years.

For a long time, the public did not know how the situation was developing in the 30-kilometer zone and around it. Various taboos were imposed on Chernobyl information, and a unique hush-up policy was implemented. But the reality proved grim. There are 1,614 of the republic's populated places in the radiation contamination zone. There are 1.436 million persons being affected by the Chernobyl factor, and among these are 250,000 children....

The strict-control areas, the places where people eat imported food products (their own are no good!), cause particular concern. These areas are located in two oblasts: in Kiev Oblast, in Poleskiy Rayon, and in Zhitomir Oblast, mainly in Narodichskiy Rayon and partly in Obruchskiy, Luginskiy, and Olevskiy Rayons. Let me say frankly: Life is hard in the controlled villages. Uncertainty, apprehensions, and illnesses have been torturing the people for 4 years.

We must, at last, look the truth in the face. In the post-accident days, 150,000 persons were subjected to iodine shock, which, consequently, affected the thyroid gland. What will become of these people? Or, there is this fact: The disease-causing effect of the radiation in the strict-control zone is not imaginary. Specialists and physician academicians explain away a great deal as "radiophobia"—a particular type of neurosis. But we are dealing with something else. The people are justifiably worried about tomorrow and about their children's health, and they are unable to accept the fact that they cannot live as they lived before—enjoying the fruits of their labor in garden and orchard, keeping a cow, walking to the forest, and bathing in the river. The misfortune that has befallen the villager is tantamount to the loss of his future. And this must be understood.

The republic government is seeking out the reserves to provide the maximum possible assistance to the affected persons. The primary task is to evacuate the people who are living in the potentially dangerous places. In the current year, as you know, 15,000 persons are being evacuated from the radiation-contaminated rayons. The whole republic's resources are being brought to bear for this purpose.

[Sokol] The opinion is being expressed that the evacuation is somewhat too late. Is this true?

[Masik] Evacuation is not the result of anyone's desire for it. There are criteria for it, worked out with the participation of scientists and specialists. We have taken action with all of these in mind.

However, my viewpoint is this: The strict-control zone is the zone of high contamination, and the fact that the people were not evacuated from it in 1987, 1988, or 1989 is inexplicable. There is no justification for this.

Everyone well remembers 1986. When they covered up the reactor—the whole country got no sleep. They put the nuclear power station [AES] into operation at an accelerated pace by joint efforts, and they built the new energy-specialist city, Slavutich. All of this, by the way, cost more than 2 billion [milliard] rubles. They gave no thought to evacuees. Then they settled down. Our "traditional" complacency has had the most acute effect of all on the regions near Chernobyl. The resolutions concerning these have been adopted with procrastination, and they do not solve all of the problems.

[Sokol] Several times, I have had occasion to hear that the republic and its leadership are to blame for the Chernobyl difficulties.

[Masik] There is cause to criticize the republic, but it cannot be blamed. On several occasions, the Ukrainian Government has developed programs to eliminate the accident's consequences and presented these to the USSR Council of Ministers. However, not once were they fully examined. The higher-ups adhered to the departments' dictates. Funds for the Chernobyl needs were allocated on the fallout [leftover] principle. Moreover, a certain minimization of expenditures was in effect. And, in addition, the theory of radiophobia—groundless distress—was brought into play.

Today there are different approaches. Reality has dictated them. The task consists of losing no time and safeguarding the people and their health.

[Sokol] You mentioned the number of evacuees for this year: 15,000 persons. There probably are more people who desire evacuation. How does one determine exactly who should leave?

[Masik] The evacuees may be conditionally divided into two categories. The first consists of residents of populated places where the radiation contamination is greater than 40 curies per square kilometer. Under such conditions, according to the assertion of specialists, a person

will receive a dangerous lifetime dose of radiation. The second category consists of all who desire to leave. These are people who do not want to experience any sort of restrictions (the "contamination" does not threaten them with danger). The resettlements, as you understand, require enormous resources. And so much housing cannot be built immediately. Therefore, a step-wise, sequential resettlement is planned.

The decision to evacuate all 14 of the villages located in the zone of dangerous contamination was made by the USSR Government at our request. It was proposed that this work be carried out by 1993. The republic has shortened the time frame to the maximum extent. It has been decided to provide for the moving, in the current year, of some of the families of the rayon centers Poleskoye (Kiev Oblast) and Narodichi (Zhitomir Oblast), where not only is the radiation situation bad, but the morale and psychological situations as well. Families with pregnant women, sick members, and school-age children (up to age 14 was proposed, and we have stopped at age 18) will leave these places.

[Sokol] Is the number of such families already known?

[Masik] The lists of them made up these two thick books in front of me. From Poleskoye, there are 2,053 families, and from Narodichi, 936.

[Sokol] Where will the affected persons be resettled? In cities or in villages?

[Masik] The villagers will receive houses of the separate, fully equipped type in villages; the residents of urban-type settlements, Poleskoye and Narodichi for example, will be settled in cities. The rural workers want to resettle close together.

[Sokol] How is the housing being built? According to the 1986 experiment?

[Masik] Yes, the principle is the same. Subunits of the republic's Ministry of Construction [Minstroy] and Agricultural Construction Administration [agrostroy] are carrying out the task. Practically all oblasts have joined in. Each collective operates autonomously. The equipment is its own, the materials are its own—everything is its own.

[Sokol] Are there, apparently, any difficulties and problems?

[Masik] Of course there are. The decision on the construction was made in December of last year. There was practically no time for preparation. Projects are being delayed, and this is understandable. Unfortunately, however, it is not just the projects that are being delayed.

I recently made a tour of all Zhitomir Oblast construction sites. The task had been understood in different ways. The scene in the village of Potiyevka came to mind. The Khmelnytskyi Construction Trust had put the roof on houses, and their colleagues from Nikolayev, Poltava, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Chernovtsy were just

getting started. Far from all of both the leaders and the ordinary workers are imbued with responsibility. Not all feel the pain of those living in the "zone" and their 4-year wait.

And, of course, there are not enough materials. There are about 20,000 workers on the Chernobyl sites. The construction is most vast. We have to seek out resources and rely on reserves. It is difficult. But we must persist. As of next year, Chernobyl will begin to be placed in the national economic plan as a discrete construction project. Material and technical supply will be assured.

[Sokol] What may be said about the housing that is being built in cities?

[Masik] First of all, that all oblasts, except the mining ones, are building it. Kiev will turn 400 apartments over to the people being resettled. All of the apartments are being built to fill the orders of the republic ministries and government. The "apparatus" that they talk about today with ill will and maliciousness will give all of its housing up to families evacuated from Poleskoye and Narodichi.

[Sokol] All of the aforementioned new construction is predestinated, if I have understood correctly, for the mandatorily evacuated? For the 15,000 persons....

[Masik] You have understood me correctly.

[Sokol] And what prospect of being evacuated do the rest have, those who will want to be evacuated?

[Masik] The 15,000—that is a minimum. I think more will be evacuated.

The local soviets have been authorized to purchase houses for the purpose at contract prices—in a rural locality, naturally. These may be either new or old. It has been recommended that the old ones be repaired. According to the information that has come in, more than 5,000 of such dwellings have already been designated. There is a possibility of offering these, by autumn, to those people who will leave the contamination zone on their own initiative.

The ministries and departments are taking action. At the republic government's suggestion, they are seeking out those people who want to move to a clean zone, and helping them by providing housing. The motor vehicle people [avtomobilisty], for example, are building 73 small private homes. The Ministry of Road Construction is erecting a large, 52-apartment house. The Ministry of Power and Electrification [Minenergo], the Ministry of Local Industry [Minmestprom], and the Ministry of Light Industry [Minlegprom] are solving problems.

There are 59,000 persons living in the strict-control zone. Many of them probably will start wanting to leave. The government's position: Help each one. In a few days, the USSR Supreme Soviet will discuss matters associated with eliminating the consequences of the accident at

the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station [ChAES]. Provision is made by our republic program to evacuate all who so desire from the strict-control zone during 1991 and 1992. That is our firm decision. Delay is intolerable.

[Sokol] The press has reported that the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium last Saturday approved the republic's program on Chernobyl and, at the same time, supported the idea of creating two state programs: an immediate one and a long-term one. However, there was talk of developing a consolidated union and republic program....

[Masik] I can say this in that regard. The republic must have its own plan of actions. In Moscow, it is hard to determine what kinds of problems should be resolved, for example, in the village of Velikiye Kleshchi in the Zhitomir area [Zhitomirshchina]. However, there are obligations that the state must assume. Regardless of the criticism, I have been repeating, and I repeat again: Chernobyl's main culprits were the departments, and they are obliged to bear the responsibility, particularly the pecuniary responsibility, for it. Such a task is beyond capabilities for the republic.

[Sokol] Is international aid to the republic realistic? And what sort of response did the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers' appeal to the governments and publics of foreign countries receive?

[Masik] First of all, I want to tell you about foreign specialists' already having joined us in solving the Chernobyl problems. The most important of the problems are the criteria for safe continued residence. The concept of a group of Moscow scientists—not more than 35 per [biological equivalent roentgens] during 70 years—is not recognized in the republic by either the Academy of Sciences, the physicians, or the public. The foreign experts, I hope, will help us become entirely certain in this matter.

We have not yet received any official responses to the appeal. The mass information media have shown an interest. There was, for example, a meeting with representatives of Netherlands Television. A "Children of Chernobyl" Committee has been formed in that country. There is information to the effect that it will invite 300 children from the affected rayons for a vacation. Several days ago, a correspondent of the well-known French television company TF-1 visited with us. Thus there is reason to believe that they will help the Ukraine.

The Chernobyl catastrophe is a universal, a world disaster. We must fight against its consequences jointly.

[Note:] In Radomyshlskiy Rayon of Zhitomir Oblast, 770 separate houses with all amenities are being built for evacuees from the zone poisoned by the Chernobyl reactor. Builders from 15 Ukrainian oblasts are engaged in the extremely important work: They are readying housing for affected persons to replace that which must be abandoned. Specialists from the Khmel'nitskiy [Khmel'nitskiy Construction] Trust of the Construction and Installation

Administration's [SMU's] Industrial Construction Unit No 2 [Promstroy-2] are working especially well. They are close to being able to turn over 16 duplex houses for former Narodichi residents, who are quartered in dormitories for the time being, in the first half of the year (Not at the end of the year, as was planned).

In the photographs [omitted]: The new settlement built by the Khmel'nitskians is already being seen. SMU cadre workers, sector chief N. Kostyuk, team leader [brigadir] A. Shurko, and carpenter N. Fil. Photographs by A. Prokopenko.

### **Belorussian Joint Decree On Progress of Chernobyl Accident Cleanup**

90WN0059B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 25 Mar 90 p 1

[Resolution of Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and Belorussian Republic Council of Trade Unions: "On Progress in Carrying Out the State Program on the Elimination in the Belorussian SSR of the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] Recently in the republic a number of supplementary measures to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant have been implemented. However, sluggishness, inconsistency and at times indiscipline have been demonstrated by the leaders of certain ministries and departments, the ispolkoms of oblast, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, in carrying out tasks stipulated by the state program and resolutions of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and the BSSR Council of Ministers dated 7 December 1989 No 319 and 19 January 1990 No 20.

Implementation of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and BSSR Council of Ministers resolution of 7 December 1989 No 319 by the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies of the Brestskaya, Vitebskaya, Grodnenskaya and Minskaya oblasts was organized in an unsatisfactory manner regarding the evacuation of citizens desiring to move to different regions of the republic from the zone of immediate evacuation during the first quarter of the current year which was stipulated in the program for the period 1990-1991. As of 15 March, 78 families had been relocated to the Brestskaya oblast out of 340 stipulated by the resolution, to the Grodnenskaya oblast correspondingly 64 out of 400, to the Vitebskaya oblast 48 out of 601, to the Minskaya oblast 122 out of 350. In the Gomelskaya oblast 375 families of the planned 628 had been evacuated and in the Mogilevskaya oblast 48 out of 279.

Adequate interaction between the ispolkoms of oblast and rayon soviets of people's deputies has not been organized on relocation issues; an effective system of mutual assistance and timely information about progress

is absent; the required explanatory work with the residents of the populated areas being evacuated is not being carried out.

The BSSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] (comrade V.P. Filonov) has been inconsistent in questions of coordinating the locations for the construction of new villages which has lead to delays in timetables for design and construction.

The Gomel and Mogilev oblispolkoms have been slow in reviewing and approving technical-economic calculations, construction designs and the planning of new residential villages.

The Belselstroy [Belorussian Rural Construction] organizations, the BSSR Minstroy [Ministry of Construction], BSSR Minzhilkomkhoz [Ministry of Communal Housing], BSSR Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Water Resources], the "Polesyevodstroy [Polesye Water Resources Construction], Beltransstroy [Belorussian Transportation Resources Construction] and Belenergostroy" [Belorussian Energy Resources Construction] associations have shown a lack of administrative abilities in the construction of residential villages.

Material-technical supply issues for the program in question for this year have not been fully resolved by the BSSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and BSSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]. The manufacture of individual dosimeters is progressing slowly at defense complex enterprises.

The BSSR Gosagroprom, the BSSR Ministries of Education, Culture, Health and Trade, Belkoopsoyuz [Belorussian Union of Cooperatives], Goskomtrud [State Committee on Labor] and the BSSR Minfin [Ministry of Finance] have not fulfilled the requirement for elaborating and submitting to the BSSR Council of Ministers proposals for expanding benefits for those specialists in agricultural, culture, health, education, trade as well as pensioners who work in zones of radioactive contamination.

The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and the Belorussian Republic Council of Trade Unions resolve to:

1. Take into consideration the declaration of the Brest, Vitebsk, Gomel, Grodno, Minsk and Mogilyev oblispolkom chairmen (comrades V.I. Burskiy, V.P. Kulakov, N.G. Voytenkov, D.K. Artsimen, A.I. Tishkevich, N.F. Grinev) that they have taken supplementary steps to ensure the relocation of families from the contaminated rayons within the established timetables.

2. Take into consideration the declaration of comrades V.G. Yevtukh (BSSR Council of Ministers), N.F. Korniyevich (BSSR State Planning Committee), V.S. Voronov (BSSR Ministry of Construction), L.M. Chura (Belselstroy), I.V. Titov ("Polesyevodstroy" SSO), I.A.

Antonovich (BSSR Minmontazhspestry) [BSSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work], that they will ensure the construction and commissioning of residential villages in accordance with the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and BSSR Council of Ministers resolution No 20 of 19 January 1990.

3. Approve the proposals of the Gomel and Mogilev oblispolkoms regarding the relocation in 1990 and through the first quarter of 1991 of those families having children up to the age of 14, pregnant women and individuals who have been advised not to reside in these populated areas because of medical reasons, from towns and villages in the permanent monitoring zone (15-40 Ci/square kilometer), included in lists 2 and 3 of the State Program On Eliminating the Consequences in Belorussia of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant.

Grant these citizens the right to join residential-construction cooperatives without having to sign up on the waiting list (with the exception of Minsk) and without regard to their place of residence.

The BSSR Gosplan, BSSR Gosstroy and oblispolkoms are to stipulate for 1990 and in projects for 1991 corresponding tasks for the design and construction of the necessary number of apartments to accommodate the relocated families.

4. In connection with the requirement for the rapid evacuation of families with children up to 14 years of age, pregnant women and individuals who have been advised not to reside in these populated areas because of medical reasons, from towns and villages in the permanent monitoring zone (15-40 Ci/square kilometer), included in lists 2 and 3 of the State Program On Eliminating the Consequences in Belorussia of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, oblispolkoms will allocate in 1990 and through the first quarter of 1991 up to 20 percent of the living space built through state capital investment regardless of which department the expenditures were affiliated with, and also of living space built with resources of enterprises, institutions, organizations and collective farms.

Party committees, ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies, BSSR ministries and departments, the soviets of labor collectives and labor union committees, leaders of enterprises, institutions, organizations and collective farms will conduct explanatory work in the labor collectives and ensure a thoughtful attitude toward the needs and desires of those relocated as well as an understanding of the necessity of implementing the measures which have been approved.

The BSSR Gosplan will stipulate in the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Belorussian SSR for 1991 the allocation to the oblispolkoms of the maximum state capital investment level for housing construction from the capital investment account

designed for aiding in the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in compensation for the living space which they provide.

5. Assign comrades V.G. Yevtukh (BSSR Council of Ministers) and N.F. Korniyevich (BSSR Gosplan) the task of submitting jointly with the oblispolkoms a proposal to the BSSR Council of Ministers within two weeks regarding a decrease in the construction of production facilities in the republic and the allocation of the freed capital investment and material-technical resources for the construction of housing in the Brestskaya, Vitebskaya, Grodnenskaya and Minskaya oblasts for families who have been relocated in accordance with the current resolution.

The BSSR Gosplan is to analyze and resolve the issue regarding the identification and delivery of currently unavailable plumbing equipment, flooring, roofing and finishing materials for the construction of the apartment buildings mentioned above.

6. Oblispolkoms and the Minsk gorispolkom, the construction ministries and departments in conjunction with the BSSR Gosplan, BSSR Gosstroy, contract organizations and client enterprises are to analyze within ten days questions regarding the advisability of construction projects which have been reinitiated, halting construction on a number of carry-over projects or scaling-down assembly-construction work with the goal of locating material-technical and labor resources for an increase this year in the construction of housing for the relocation of citizens from areas contaminated by radionuclides. Results will be reported to the BSSR Council of Ministers before 15 April 1990.

7. The BSSR Academy of Sciences, BSSR Ministry of Health, Belorussian Republic Directorate on Hydrometeorology, BSSR Gosagroprom and BSSR Goskompriroda [State Committee on Nature] are to submit their conclusions within five days regarding the possibility of utilizing designated land plots for the construction of new villages and facilities in the Brestskaya, Gomelskaya and Mogilevskaya oblasts for residents relocated from areas contaminated by radionuclides.

Oblispolkoms in coordination with the BSSR Gosstroy, BSSR Academy of Sciences, BSSR Ministry of Health and the Belorussian Republic Directorate on Hydrometeorology will determine those populated areas where construction of the aforementioned apartment buildings for the years 1990-1991 is to be carried out in addition to the tasks established by the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and BSSR Council of Ministers resolution of 19 January 1990 No 20 which provided for the construction of apartment buildings in rayon centers.

8. Allow the BSSR Gosplan, BSSR Gosplan and BSSR Gosagroprom in conjunction with the BSSR Mintorg [Ministry of Trade] to undertake a reallocation of construction materials according to republic consumer



limits and regardless of departmental affiliation among enterprises, organizations and collective farms with the goal of ensuring the construction of residential housing using the economic method for families who have been relocated from rayons in the Gomelskaya and Mogilevskaya oblasts which were subjected to radioactive contamination.

9. BSSR Ministries and departments, oblispolkoms and the Minsk gorispolkom in conjunction with labor collectives are to bring their plans for assembly-construction work into complete compliance with the existing material-technical resources within two weeks and report on progress in April of the current year to BSSR Gosplan.

BSSR Gosplan and BSSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] will analyze the results of this work and report to the BSSR Council of Ministers and, if necessary, include these changes in the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the BSSR for 1990.

10. The Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences along with the BSSR Minzdrav, other interested ministries and departments will elaborate a concept for the complete medical-biological, social, psychological and economic rehabilitation of people residing in contaminated territories, accelerate the elaboration of a method of evaluating the total affect of all radionuclides, the influence of radiation taking into account all anthropogenic factors and of lowering the radiation burden on man in the populated areas with low levels of radiation contamination.

Elaborate radiation-ecological passports for the rayon centers and other populated areas of the permanent monitoring zone (15-40 Ci per kilometer) before 1 July 1990.

11. The BSSR Gosplan is to ensure the manufacture in 1990 at republic enterprises of no fewer than 60 thousand individual dosimeters and radiation control devices and to increase their deliveries outside the republic.

The communists-leaders of the following Minsk production associations are to organize the manufacture of the stipulated number of these devices and to increase their production in the future: V.I. Lenin "Gorizont," Gomel "Izmeritel" PO [Production Association] and radio engineering supplies plant, the Borisov "Ekran" PO and the Rechitsa "Ritm" plant.

12. Taking into account the inadequate level of general education training of students residing in contaminated areas due to a shortage of pedagogical personnel, the BSSR Minister of Education will resolve before 1 May issues regarding the opening of training courses for graduates expressing the desire to study at the republic's institutes of higher education.

13. Comrades M.V. Kovalev, N.N. Mazay (BSSR Council of Ministers) and V.S. Ulashchik (BSSR Minzdrav) will locate supplementary resources for

improving the base for health care, for the acquisition of needed equipment and medicines, and will carry out measures to improve training for medical personnel and to increase their presence in the stricken rayons.

14. The BSSR Gosagroprom and the Western Regional Branch of VASKhNIL [Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences] will accelerate the resolution of issues involving the diversification of production, supplying the collective and state farms and enterprises in the contaminated zone with agricultural machines equipped with hermetically sealed cabins and storage compartments; will accelerate the establishment of normal working and living conditions, carry out research on the economic effectiveness of the possibility of producing clean products and provide recommendations regarding the initiation of agriculture operations in areas which were subjected to radioactive contamination.

15. Demand from KPB [Belorussian Communist Party] obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms and the oblast, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies an increase in personal responsibility of its staff. They will conduct systematic monitoring so that the measures which have been stipulated for eliminating the consequences of the accident can be completely fulfilled.

16. The commissions of the KPB Central Committee and the BSSR Council of Ministers (comrade A.T. Kichkaylo) are to carry out concrete and effective measures to implement the state program as well as other decisions on eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and to submit, if necessary, proposals to the union organs of the republic government.

Ensure that the population is systematically informed of the work underway.

#### **Biologist Urges Environmental Action To Preserve Kamchatka**

90WN0059A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 13,  
Mar 90 p 16

[Article by V. Kirpichnikov, doctor of biological sciences and professor: "Save The Eighth Wonder Of The World"]

[Text] The Aral Sea is not alone. Many areas of the Soviet Union have found themselves as a result of thoughtless policies and irresponsibility in a state close to ecological catastrophe. For the preservation of nature it is absolutely necessary to create a broad network of protected reserves, game preserves and national parks among other urgent measures. In this area we lag behind many countries.

The main problem lies not only in misunderstanding the role which has been relegated to the national parks and reserves in the preservation of nature, but in underestimating the income that they can bring in (and already do, only not here, but abroad). No matter which unique



corner of the country we take, all the misfortunes involving our nature preserves are reflected as clearly as in a drop of water. From this point of view let's have a look at the far reaches of our country, inimitable in its beauty and natural resources - Kamchatka.

It would seem that our duty is to preserve this wonder as the apple of one's eye and at the same time make it a possession of the people and even a source of income for the state. Meanwhile we, quite the contrary, squander our wealth and now a real threat has even arisen to the very existence of Kamchatka as a natural preserve.

The salvation of Kamchatka lies in the creation here of game preserves, natural reserves and national parks as well as a judicious, scientifically-based development of economic activity suitable to the area and which does not destroy nature. The damage inflicted upon Kamchatka through the uncoordinated and uncontrolled activity of various departments - agroindustrial, lumber, mining - and other branches of industry, by geological groups and tourist organizations is great. Loggers barbarously destroy the forests in the Kamchatka river valley, drying up its tributaries and obstructing salmon spawning. The floating of logs tied together as rafts has led to an abundance of "sinkers" in the river, which densely carpet the bottom, and this accelerates the destruction of the main salmon artery of the peninsula.

The environmentalists were able to stop plans for the construction of hydroelectric power stations on local rivers - they would have been disastrous for the fishing industry of the peninsula. But here, in spite of sharp, public protests, the barbaric blasting operations and the removal of dirt from the slopes of the Petrov volcano, completely covered birch forests and rich with mushrooms, continue. It extends above Petropavlovsk for almost 15 kilometers and is a beautiful, natural park. Quickly and carelessly the Avachinskiy Bay, one of the most beautiful in the world, is being polluted. Its state of health is approaching a critical stage. But how can we stop the escalation of these rash, ecologically harmful measures?

Not long ago on the eastern shore the vast Kronotskiy Reserve, formed back in the 19th century, was restored. About two years ago a game preserve was opened in southern Kamchatka which included the deep and salmon-rich Kuril Lake and its environs nestled among three volcanos. A large number of bears dwell along the banks of the lake and the streams and rivers that flow into it.

It is precisely along this path that we must search for the key to restoring the ecological balance. We should organize two or three more preserves, including at least one in northern Kamchatka in the Koryakskiy Autonomous Okrug. Unfortunately, the preserves, as a rule, are accessible only to their staff workers and a few scientists who come here from different places to work. They are visited by "selected individuals" including high-ranking officials, famous scientific and cultural figures as well as,

from time to time, distinguished foreigners. For the general public the path to the reserves is closed.

I am by no means against the commercial utilization of the wealth of the peninsula. But after all we don't need to make use of it in the manner that we have, but rather, in a more proprietary manner! In connection with this, something about fishing and fish-breeding in Kamchatka. These fields are very neglected, and we can direct a multitude of complaints against the fishing industry for this. I'll give only one striking example. In 1987 in the Kuril Lake in southern Kamchatka sometime toward the middle of August more than two million breeding salmon from one of the most valuable species of Pacific salmon, nerka, were released to spawn. The spawning capacity of the lake was exceeded: as is well-known the locally excessive density of spawning fish is very disruptive for salmon reproduction. The collective farm fishermen were ready to continue the catch of the huge quantity of fish which had amassed in the river, but at the nearby Ozerovskiy fish processing plant (millionaire!) there were no tins for the preparation of canned fish nor barrels in which to salt them. More than one and a half million breeding salmon (approximately 4000 tons of fish) were additionally released into the lake owing to the confusion. Because of this, spawning conditions in the lake and its tributaries markedly deteriorated. The same situation repeated itself, albeit on a somewhat smaller scale, in 1988 and 1989.

For a long time only one fish-breeding plant existed on Kamchatka (on Lake Ushki on the lower reaches of the Kamchatka River). This plant only caused problems. An analysis of its lengthy operation undertaken by scientist-ichthyologists showed: the more roe harvested from keta and nerka salmon by the plant's fish-breeders, the younger were the offspring which returned from the ocean to spawn. The taking of breeding salmon for roe undermined the basis for the natural reproduction of salmon in the lake. After several decades of its unproductive (or rather, destructive) work, last year the plant was finally closed.

Purchased in Japan, a fish plant is being built on the Paratunka River which flows into the Avachinskiy Bay. Construction is extremely slow, but more important, the advisability of building the plant on this river, which has few salmon and is extremely polluted, is highly debatable. In my view it would have been better to locate it on one of two main salmon rivers on the peninsula - the Kamchatka River (on the east coast) or the Bolshaya River (on the west coast). In this case it would be necessary to thoroughly consider with which direction and which species of salmon the new factories would operate as well as until what age the young fish would be kept there (and what they would be fed). And it is extremely important to take into account the rich experience of Japan, Norway and other countries.

One of the most important fish-breeding measures is the fertilization of the cold Kamchatka lakes which are poor in organisms which can be used for food. The successful

experiments, conducted by specialists from the Kamchatka branch of the Pacific Ocean Scientific-Research Institute of Fisheries and Oceanography (KoTINRO), showed that fertilizer (mainly phosphates) can significantly increase the productivity of the lakes, drastically increase the survivability of the salmon offspring and as a result increase the number of breeding fish which enter the lake each year from the ocean. The economic effect of such an experiment, according to the most conservative estimates, might be 8-12 million rubles annually.

The KoTINRO, as well as expeditional detachments and other industry and academic institutes, are involved in salmon research. Successful work is being hindered by many factors. First of all by the lack of coordination in the work plans of various institutes. Ministries need a united and authoritative coordinating center. Several years ago the USSR Ministry of Fish Industry instituted the All-Union Scientific-Technical "Salmon" Program but, unfortunately, the work foreseen by this program is being carried out poorly.

The condition of KoTINRO's field laboratories and permanent observation posts is catastrophic. In two of the oldest laboratories on the Dalniy and Kuril islands which were founded approximately 50 years ago, scientific work is being carried out now in conditions which are totally unacceptable, in cramped facilities which are not adapted for research purposes. There is not enough housing for the staff and none at all for visiting scientists. Other observation posts are in no better shape. It is essentially impossible to even conduct the most primitive scientific research there.

In conclusion I will say that I see the conversion of the whole of Kamchatka into a protected area as the only correct, radical and farsighted solution unless we want Kamchatka in the near future to become not the eighth wonder of the world but the second ecological disaster zone after the Aral Sea.

#### **Belorussian Goskompriroda Official on State of Republic's Environment**

90WN0067A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 5 Apr 90 p 4

[Article by A. Aleshka, deputy chairman of the Belorussian State Committee for the Protection of Nature: "At a Dangerous Edge"]

[Text] At present, ecology is the test of any state for independence. All the material riches of the world will be worth nothing if the people do not have a blue sky, clean air, unpoisoned earth and pure water.

Let me begin with the facts.

The amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased by more than 25 percent from 1956 up to the present. Forests in the world are being reduced at a rate of 11 million hectares a year and desertification is proceeding at a rate of 6 million hectares. Or take

drinking water. As is known, under the conditions of disturbed circulation, it is not a replenishable source. In essence, even now we are jeopardizing the fate of future generations with a disaster which mankind even recently could not even imagine. The supplies of such water in our nation were very rich, but not many are aware that at present we are slaking our thirst at the expense of the drinking water supplies of the year 2005. Thousands upon thousands of lakes, rivers and streams have been ruined. Many large lakes and rivers are being suffocated with pollution and are on the brink of dying. Much good drinking water is wasted for industrial purposes.

Our republic has been exposed to all the ecological disasters which afflict mankind. Regardless of the measures taken to stabilize and reduce the release and discharge of polluting substances, the ecological situation remains acute. It has become particularly complicated after the Chernobyl accident.

The ecologically endangered facilities at present are being tested for their strength. The people more and more do not want to tolerate the level of water and air pollution which was allowed for many years running. A search is underway for new technological solutions and studies are underway to introduce reliable dust and gas scrubbers and more advanced systems for treating polluted waste water.

The Committee for the protection of nature [Goskompriroda] and its local bodies are paying particular attention to the questions of the location of national economic projects and the ecological expert evaluation of the plans. Last year alone, out of the 76 proposals of the Union and republic ministries and departments for new construction, 28 were turned down as not meeting the environmental requirements. Out of the almost 2,000 reviewed plans, one out of three was not approved and was sent back for additional work. These included the plans for the construction and reconstruction of the Smolevichi Gear Plant, the Minsk TETs-5, the Berezovskiy GRES, the Azot [Nitrogen] Production Association in Grodno and others.

In 1989, the environmental bodies have discovered over 5,000 major violations of conservation legislation. Over 2,000 officials were fined. Some 32 suits were brought totaling more than 3 million rubles.

The Ecological Commission Under the Presidium of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences is working effectively and it has reviewed a number of complicated ecological problems for the republic and has vetoed the placement of a number of environmentally dangerous projects.

Largely the situation is determined by the concentrating of industrial production in the towns and cities as well as by the intensification of agricultural production. Some 11 of the 210 urban settlements (Minsk, Mogilev, Gomel, Grodno, Vitebsk, Novopolotsk, Orsha, Brest, Bobruysk, Baranovich and Borisov) are responsible for 70 percent of the industrial product, 60 percent of the urban population in the republic and almost 40 percent

of the total republic population. In a majority of these cities, pollution of the air, for example, exceeds the standards for a number of harmful substances.

As a total, around 3 million tons of harmful substances a year are released into the republic's air basin. Thousands of different chemical components are in the air. Among them are particularly dangerous ones such as benzopyrene. This is a very dangerous poison for human health and its concentrations in the large cities significantly exceed the health standard.

Also threatening are the exhausts from motor transport operating on leaded gasoline. In Minsk, out of the total release of 230,000 tons of harmful substances a year, the share of motor transport approaches 60 percent. In just 1 year, a single Ikarus bus "produces" 24 tons of carcinogenic substances.

Among the primary measures to improve the air basin in the large cities is a radical conversion of many enterprises to resource-saving, low-waste production methods, moving foundry production out of residential areas, introducing efficient dust and gas scrubbers, converting the fuel-burning units to a gaseous fuel and utilizing unleaded gasoline in motor transport by installing special converters. But all of these measures will be extremely insufficient if we do not introduce a fee for the release of polluting substances. This economic lever will force the enterprise leaders to seek out ways for reducing the effluents.

The rights which were given to the bodies to protect the air basin against pollution now appear ludicrous. The act which is drawn up against a violator of air protection legislation is submitted for review to the administrative commissions of the city and rayon executive committees. It often happens that the efforts of the inspectors are nullified.

As for the sanction of halting the operation of a shop or enterprise and the bringing of large suits, these have no reliable legal basis under them. For this reason, it is not surprising that the procuracy bodies have not supported us by a single serious measure (for example, halting individual sections and shops at the Mogilev Chemical Fiber Production Association or the heating equipment plant in Minsk), but on the contrary, have come to the defense of the violators of the conservation legislation.

The result of using capital investments going for the combating of effluents shows the level of this work. Each year the investments are not fully utilized. For example, the construction of a hydrogen sulfide recovery unit at the Svetlogorsk Chemical Fiber Production Association has been underway for 12 years now. Of the 44 important measures provided in the specific program for the 12th Five-Year Plan, for the republic 13 have not been carried out. And a third of the completed and operating dust and gas scrubbers operate extremely inefficiently and such giant polluters as the thermal power enterprises

which release 36 percent of the harmful substances of all the stationary sources in the republic operate completely without any scrubbing.

Nature did not stint on our water riches as there are around 20,000 rivers and 10,000 lakes. It might seem to some that we have no grounds to complain of the shortage of pure water. Many as yet are not complaining but use it wastefully and pollute with impunity. We must invest a good deal of money so that the rivers and lakes are clean. By the end of this year, the degree of treating waste water will be brought up to 95 percent. Although virtually all cities and urban settlements have centralized sewage and treatment systems, the polluting of water is inexorably rising. Over the last 15 years, water mineralization in the major rivers of the republic, such as the Pripyat, Dnieper, Western Dvina and Neman, has risen by 20 percent. The waters are growing cloudy also in the small rivers. There are many reasons for this, including the victorious campaign of large-scale reclamation without considering the consequences and this we have been particularly successful at, to the release of insufficiently treated waste water, the leaching of organic and mineral substances from the fields which in many instances run right down to the water edge.

A very bad situation is arising in the republic with the underground water. The water levels are being more and more polluted in the zones of the industrial enterprises, in areas of large livestock raising facilities and in places where mineral fertilizers and toxic chemicals are actively applied. The construction of the Gorodok Hog Complex with 108,000 head can be considered an example of the flagrant ignoring of environmental requirements. With an ecological study of the plan for 54,000 head of hogs, it was established that the standards for utilizing the manure waste could not be met. Arbitrarily the construction was carried out for 108,000 head. Goskompriroda has insisted on reducing the capacity of this facility to 60,000 animals.

Unfortunately, there are many such examples. To some degree, one could understand the leaders of the various regions, if these projects were carried out 10-20 years ago, when the ecological problem seemed too many to be the raving of persons isolated from real life. In our times, such an underestimation of the problems of protecting the environment is simply blasphemous. Within a radius of 10-15 km around the large livestock raising facilities, water in the drinking wells is virtually unsuitable for use as the nitrate content and the level of bacteriological contamination often surpassed the health standards by 5-10-fold.

For many years running there has been a storm of paperwork over the problem of establishing a test range for toxic wastes. But up to now it has been built nowhere. And each year the republic accumulates over 140,000 tons of highly toxic waste and 45 million tons of industrial waste.

Of great danger are the accumulating toxic chemicals which are no longer usable. In Minsk Oblast alone, this chemical "bomb" weighs over 520 tons. It is not excluded that leaders can be found who throw this dangerous waste on ordinary dumps or arbitrarily bury it in the ground. Up to the present, according to incomplete data, already over 3,000 tons of toxic chemicals have been buried in the republic. Of particular danger are such burials in Verkhnedvinskiy, Gorodokskiy and Postavskiy Rayons.

At many industrial enterprises, the temporary toxic storage areas are overloaded, a further build-up on them is going on and this creates the threat of accidents as well as uncontrollable burying, the polluting of the soils, forests, the surface and underground waters. Thus, according to the data of the Sanitation Service, the content of certain toxic substances in the soil in individual areas of Minsk exceeds the maximum permissible concentration for chromium by 10-fold, for mercury by 20-fold and for lead by 40-fold. The appearance of mercury has been recorded in the Drozdy, Tsnyanskoye and Krylovo Reservoirs. One does not have to be either an ecologist or a physician to realize all the danger of such a cavalier attitude toward toxic, chemical substances which are dangerous for the health of man and for all living nature.

We have always said with pride that  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the republic's territory is occupied by forests. But let us reflect on such facts. The area of mature forests in our republic is just 2.4 percent, and this is virtually the most critical point. The total area is being reduced by transforming them into agricultural land.

Frequently, various seminars are held in the Polesye, and particularly in Brest and Gomel Oblasts. What do we learn? We "learn" how we must...destroy the landscapes, ignore the creation of shelter belts and turn the rivers into sewer courses. Just look how many humped levees there are along the entire length of the rivers and the wind dances behind them. Later we become angry and give sad figures on wind soil erosion which each year carries off more than a million tons of fertile soil to distant lands.

This is the doing of the reclamation workers. Following in their footsteps are the agricultural chemical workers. They have gained such power and such force that they are capable of cutting the last reserves of peat in the republic within 5 years and per inhabitant spread a kilogram if not more of toxic chemicals and mineral fertilizers.

At present, the powerful land reclamation forces are moving into the Belorussian Lake Region. And the Lake Region is virtually the only ecologically relatively clean region in the republic. Yes, thank God, the Chernobyl disaster bypassed it. This region must be protected against chemistry, saved from giant reclamation plans, with the exception of completely balanced amelioration,

with the maximum preservation of the unique landscapes and the still living and pure lakes and forests. And what is the price of the one hydrological swamp reserve Yelnya in Miorskiy Rayon which is located on an unique upland swamp with an abundance of rare vegetation and fauna, with a system of small lakes and islands overgrown with first-growth forest. And so the reclamation workers are making their way to this reserve as they have to many others. Science should have its say here and there must be the immediate elaboration of a scheme for the ecological protection of the Lake Region. We feel that this is one of the most important tasks which can play a decisive ecological role for all our republic.

In a number of places we have already reached that limit beyond which irreversible changes begin with the destruction of the natural landscapes. For this reason, at present there must be the departure from established stereotypes and a perestroika in ecological thinking is essential. There can be no doubt that any plan, any actions in the agroindustrial sphere should proceed not only from the principles of social and economic importance but also ecological purity. The latter for our republic, particularly after the Chernobyl accident, makes profound sense and is particularly important.

In a word, the time has come for reasonable, scientifically sound actions. Nature is in danger and not only is our health in danger but also the future of our nation.

**From the editors.** In publishing this article, we are hopeful that the problems posed in it will not leave the readers unmoved. We are waiting for your reflections, proposals and messages.

### **Political, Economic Pressures Set Against Gulf of Riga Cleanup Efforts**

90WN0067B Moscow POISK in Russian No 16,  
21-27 Apr 90 p 6

[Article by Vladimir Steshenko: "A Lack of Trust, or How Scientists Protected Yurmala for 20 Years and What Happened"]

[Text] At present, the entire nation probably knows about the passions raging over the closing down of pulp making at the industrial flagship at the resort town of Yurmala, the Sloka Pulp-Paper Plant (TsBZ). In truth, this may follow a rather oversimplified scheme. In truth for 2 years the Latvians have been arguing that the TsBZ is the main polluter of the seacoast and as a result the demand has appeared of the informal groups, the television and press: "Down with the Sloka TsBZ!" When under their pressure the deputies of the Yurmala City Soviet and the republic parliament were forced to take a decision to close down this plant, they encountered unforeseen economic problems.

Do you remember the sensational announcement? Due to the paper shortage which had arisen supposedly due to the banning of pulp cooking in Yurmala, the next morning not a single Latvian newspaper was published.

And during this time railway cars carrying paper were arriving on schedule in Riga, but a decision was taken (and we still are not perfectly certain by whom) that from then on only publications would be printed which were of the bodies of the Latvian CP Central Committee and then only once a week.

And then the "federalists" and the "independents" raised the cause of the TsBZ as the strongest argument in a political dispute. Some gloated: "So now you have obtained economic independence? Now try to get out of it!" Others pathetically exclaimed: "Is this not the economic blackmail by Moscow to refuse delivery at such a difficult moment?!"

I do not wish to assert that in the above-given scheme there is not a grain of truth. But as any simplification of a problem leads away from a solution to it, so the attempts of primitive political speculation over the very severe economic and ecological situation merely exacerbate it and do not make it possible to see the problem in all its tragic depth. Certainly Latvia and the entire Union which has many health resorts on the Riga Seacoast are confronted with the alternative: Is Yurmala to exist or not? The dispute was about all sorts of things and not just about this.

Some 70 percent of its forests are now infested with disease. The state-protected dune zones have been trampled down or are being built on. The floodplain meadows are destroyed. The beaches are being ruined. Pollution has been found in the only Yurmala underground drinking water spring. Over the last 20 years, the catch of fish in the Gulf of Riga has declined by 3-fold. Divers describe fantastic pictures of the dead sea floor and fields of dead spawn. For 7 years now, the Lielupe River has been closed for swimming. Last year the republic SES [Sanitation-Epidemiological Service] officially proposed to the rayispolkoms to ban swimming on many areas in the coastal waters of the gulf and completely in Yurmala itself. The resort town, along with certain regions of Riga, had become one of the worst in terms of the level of the morbidity rate in the population. Yurmala is among the leaders in terms of chronic bronchitis, dermatitis, ulcers, oncological illnesses and a whole number of children's ailments.

Scientists from the USSR and republic academies of sciences and various commissions which have verified the threat of an ecological disaster on the seacoast have uniformly pointed to its sources. There are several of these, but the main ones are Riga and the Sloka TsBZ.

Is it possible to compare a small plant with a large industrial city? Riga remains the only capital on the Baltic which does not have treatment facilities and which could not be built after 1971. Each year Riga releases into the Daugava and the Gulf of Riga some 225 million m<sup>3</sup> of waste water. In these wastes are 104,000 tons of pollutants. The TsBZ releases 30,000-40,000 tons of such substances into the Lielupe a year.

The plant's treatment facilities on which at one time a good deal of money was to be spent are in a disaster state. The trend noticeable in recent years for a drop in the release of harmful substances has not caused and could not cause any substantial changes in the ecological state of the Lielupe River.

The Sloka TsBZ is a century-old veteran. It is already rather decrepit and the equipment is worn out. The "youngest" paper-making machine is a quarter of a century old. The oldest is about 70.

The plant turns out 108,000 tons of paper and cardboard a year. Here they digest over 50,000 tons of pulp and they receive another 25,000 tons from other plants. This is the nation's only producer of punchcard paper and thousands of consumers of which live in all the USSR republics and it also produces paper for manufacturing disposable dishes. As a total, the Sloka TsBZ produces 0.4 percent(!) of the pulp turned out in the nation.

Each year they spend 1.8 million rubles on operating the treatment facilities. The TsBZ produces 3 million rubles of profit. The loss from the aggregate pollution of the Gulf of Riga is 100 million rubles a year, and of this amount Sloka is responsible for 20 million. Compare this with the profit. Is this not a self-consuming economy?!

At present, the authorities—neither the party nor the state—accept any reproaches for intentionally neglecting the nature of Yurmala or the recommendations of real scientists. Over the last 20 years, over 10 various conservation decrees, Union enactments and international obligations have been adopted. It is a different question that they have not been completely carried out....

Completely, for how is it possible to implement absolutely opposite decrees? For example, for preserving the resorts and preventing construction of industrial enterprises on their territory but, on the other, the financing of industrial construction in Yurmala and the broadening of the Sloka TsBZ.

If now one looks at the documents relating to ecologically harmful installations, everywhere one can see the obedient permissive signature of the Soviet power in Yurmala. But times have begun to change and now the city soviet has begun talking about halting the digesting of cellulose, initially by January 1989 and then the "precise date" was set of 31 March and later a new date appeared of 1 September.... Against the background of perestroika, the mass meetings and picketing, the situation has acquired a serious political nature.

On 31 March a session of the Yurmala City Soviet was attended by virtually the entire republic leadership headed by its president. On 29 July, the republic Supreme Soviet supported the demand of the Yurmala residents to halt pulp production as of 1 January 1990.

The Councils of Ministers—both republic and Union—were in a state of shock. Some 20 persons spoke at a special session of the republic Council of Ministers. The

chairman of the State Statistics Committee stated that due to the shortage of punchcard paper, the operation of the computers and computer centers will be disrupted. The minister of social security complained that for the same reason hundreds of thousands of persons would not receive their pensions and aid. The minister of trade announced that purchasers would have to go shopping with their own paper bags. Then more serious accusations were directed against the heads of the deputies. The prohibitive decision would disrupt the new economic relations which were being established with difficulty in Latvia and would cause a counterrefusal in the nation for supplying the republic with rolled metals, building materials, chemical products, wrapping cardboard and consumer goods. As was stated, the direct economic consequences of adopting a "rash decision" were assessed at 1 billion rubles. Ministerial workers concluded that "in the republic there are persons very interested in torpedoing the republic's transition to economic independence from the very outset by emotional decisions and bans which are economically out of balance and immature from the state viewpoint. And then an attempt was made to place the responsibility for the collapse in the social and economic spheres on the republic government." But who if not they themselves for some 20 years prevented the adopting of not only economic but also ecologically sound decisions? References to the center were little persuasive as it was precisely Moscow which proposed declaring the Gulf of Riga to be a sea reserve, while the refusal came from Riga.

Of course, the decision of the city soviet and the government was merely a gesture of desperation, an extreme measure which was the only one capable of forcing the Union and republic departments to work and not pretend that they sympathized with the ruined resort. In truth, the Union ones stood out more in terms of the number of refusals to go into the situation of Yurmala. If there had not been an emergency, nothing would have changed!

The ban of the deputies was a response to 20 years of deception and humiliation. It is worthy of note that the newly elected city soviet in its first session on 18 January of this year, regardless of the "informational volley" from the Council of Ministers, supported the decision of the former membership. Only seven deputies at that time voted in favor of continuing the digesting of pulp. But there was one who on the list for the roll-call vote crossed out both proposals ("digest" and "not to digest"), Andrey Vorontsov, a young historian, who recently had become an associate of the Latvian CP Central Committee. As the further development of events was to show, he was the only one who was keeping pace.

"We do not have any choice at all," he said in justification of his decision. "On the one hand, there is the need to fight for the ecological purity of Yurmala. On the other hand, there is the dismissal of almost 6,500 workers at the plant without any clear plan for finding jobs for them and also the economic blow against the

very idea of Latvian independence. It is essential to draw up proposals which would offer a real choice. But for this it is essential to know how pulp-paper production in Latvia can be organized in a new manner."

It was becoming more and more apparent that only a compromise "third" solution could break the stalemate.

"The entire disaster of Yurmala is that the solution to the problem has been stretched out for decades," considers the USSR People's Deputy and Secretary Academician of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, Rita Kukayn. "Scientists from Moscow and Riga were unanimous from the very first scientific expert evaluation and that was there was no place for the plant in the resort. But all the activities of the Union and republic authorities and agencies consisted not in a search for an answer to the question of 'What is to be done?' but rather a desire to prove that the conclusions of the scientists were just emotions. I cannot understand these people who even recently were responsible for the development of the republic. Certainly it does not take any particular knowledge to understand even the economic loss from such a natural disaster, rather it only takes common sense. In the summer I came out for an immediate closure of the plant. But now I am convinced that the government, having encountered the uniform viewpoint of the people and the deputies, will search for approaches acceptable for all. And I have come out in favor of the compromise document as our last concession."

Thus, on 16 February at a session of the republic Supreme Soviet, the deputies heard an announcement of a government program for normalizing the situation at the Sloka TsBZ. The most different approaches were examined for getting out of the existing situation. But most importantly, the deputies demanded that the government give convincing guarantees as it was a matter of trust in the government.

The decision was adopted to halt the action of the decree of 29 July 1989. The Council of Ministers has been ordered as of May this year to halt the plant (the date was set in accord with the water conditions in the river), to put the production and technical cycle in order and carry out the necessary production and technological modernization. After this the digesting of cellulose will be continued in a moderate amount until a new plant can be built.

The situation has been clarified for the Sloka TsBZ. But it is not the only source of misfortune for Yurmala which needs a comprehensive scientific plan and program for the development of the resort. In addition, in small Latvia there are still several other painful ecological points requiring extraordinary attention.

P.S. None of the specific parties guilty of the deterioration of the resort of Yurmala or polluting the Gulf of Riga and the Lielupe, neither on the Union, the republic nor the city level has been held responsible.

### Charges Filed in Kiev 'Ecology Demonstration'

90UN1758A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 27 Apr 90 p 4

[News brief by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent L. Yanyuk: "Criminal Charges Brought"]

[Text] A team of investigators from the Directorate of Investigation of the Kiev City Executive Committee Directorate of Internal Affairs has commenced an investigation in response to a decision by the public prosecutor's office to investigate a criminal case involving facts of exceptional cynicism which insult the dignity of V. I. Lenin and public morality.

Such acts were committed by a group of citizens who on 22 April 1990 took part in an environmental demonstration.

The investigating team includes 10 officers from the investigation services, including criminal investigation. The investigation is currently being conducted in three Kiev rayons: Zaliznichnyy, Leninskiy, and Pecherskiy—on the basis of eyewitness testimony as well as a videotape provided by the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, which was submitted as an evidentiary document. Incidentally, this videotape was shown to the people's deputies of the Kiev City Soviet at one of their first-session meetings. It aroused indignation on the part of the deputies.

### Tajik Supreme Soviet Decree on Urgent Environmental Priorities

90WN0057A Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 12 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "With Thoughts on Protecting the Environment: In the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered the issue of measures for the recovery of the ecological situation in the Tajik SSR in light of the 27 November 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet decree "On the Immediate Measures for the Country's Environmental Recovery."

The decree adopted notes that the tension of the ecological situation in the republic, as in the country, has grown in recent years. The high population growth, the lack of land, the disorderly construction of rural and urban population points, and interference with nature without consideration for the region's geographical-climatic conditions have led to the formation of hotbeds of conflicting utilization of nature. Dissatisfaction with the high level of pollution by atmospheric discharges from stationary sources and motor vehicle transportation, the low quality of drinking water, and the lack of pollution treatment facilities has intensified on the part of the population of the cities of Dushanbe, Tursunzade, Kurgan-Tyube, Leninabad, Isfara, and Kulyab, as well as the Yavan valley.

The number of species of the animal and plant kingdom is being sharply reduced as the result of anthropogenic effects; a portion of them have already been entered in the USSR and Tajik SSR Red Data Books and are perched on the verge of extinction.

Groundless withdrawal of lands from the state forest reserve is being permitted in the republic. Forest exploitation is being conducted unsystematically; their function in protecting the environment is being reduced. In 1988-1989 alone, 19,800 hectares of land of the state forest reserve, covering water reservoir, defense, sanitation-hygiene, and other forests of the first group were withdrawn.

The leaders of many republic ministries and departments, and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies regard irresponsibly the implementation of environmental protection measures, especially capital investment for these purposes. State administration and control over the quality of the environment, the organization of rational utilization of natural resources, and the economic levers of resource and power conservation are insufficiently effective. Miscalculations in situating productive forces are permitted.

The Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted for leadership and steadfast execution the USSR Supreme Soviet decree "On the immediate measures for the country's environmental recovery."

Through its decree, the Presidium instructed the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers to develop a draft of a long-range state comprehensive program for environmental protection and the rational utilization of the resources of the Tajik SSR for the 13th 5-year-plan and the period up to the year 2005, and to present it to the Tajik Supreme Soviet within 2 months.

It is proposed that oblast, city, and rayon soviets of people's deputies of the republic develop in 1990 oblast, city, and rayon programs for environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources.

It has been recommended to the executive committee of the Kurgan-Tyube Oblast soviet of people's deputies that, in conjunction with the Tajik SSR Committee for Environmental Protection, the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences, and other concerned organizations, it develop proposals for restoring and preserving the Kalininabad sources of potable ground water, and introduce them for the consideration of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium instructed the "Tadzhikenergo" production association and Tajik SSR Gosplan to develop in 1990-1991 an energy program with consideration for utilizing unconventional, ecologically safe energy sources.

It has been proposed that the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences, in conjunction with concerned organizations and departments organize the study of the long-range reserves of wild plants and to develop methods to restore



them. In conjunction with the Tajik SSR Goskompriroda, scientifically based criteria for setting aside nature preservation reserves should be developed by 1995, and the map for their location presented to the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers.

Oblast, city, and rayon soviets of people's deputies, in conjunction with Tajik SSR Goskompriroda, Gosplan, and the Ministry of Finance are charged with considering the issue of introducing equitable payment for polluting the environment and nature utilization starting in 1991.

The Presidium charged Tajik SSR Goskompriroda, together with the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences with implementing the coordination of the republic's scientific research and experimental design work in the field of environmental protection.

#### **Tajik Goskompriroda Chairman on State of Republic's Environment**

90WN0057B Dushanbe KOMMUNIST  
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 6 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by M. Nazriyev, chairman, Tajik SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection: "Defending the Ecology is Everybody's Cause"]

[Text] The Tajik SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection [Goskompriroda] was created in January of last year; it is called upon to implement state control over the condition of the environment and the rational utilization of natural resources.

The following data may give an idea of the work that has been done since that time. In one year, the subdivisions of Goskompriroda investigated 3,367 enterprises and ecologically hazardous facilities in the republic. At these, 883 violations of environmental protection legislation were discovered. Over 13,000 instructions were issued; their execution is mandatory in the same year. Somewhat over half have been executed.

Administrative charges for violation of the environmental protection legislation have been brought against over 1,000 officials and citizens. Presentations have been made for depriving of their awards managers and specialists of the Dushanbe cement combine, the fittings plant, the "Tadzhiktekstilmash," "Tadzhikgidroagregat," the "Inzhdorremstroy" trust-base, the Tadzhik aluminum plant, and other enterprises for failure to implement environmental protection measures.

Over 300 decrees have been issued on the temporary suspension or cessation of the work of shops, production lines, technological aggregates, enterprises, and construction, and the cessation of construction of new ones, such as the shop for ammonium production at the Vakhshskiy nitrogen-mineral fertilizer plant, the battery plant in Kulyabe, and the chloromethane shop of the "Tadzhik-khimprom" production association.

A number of program documents have been developed. Among them is the "Statute on the procedure for the formation of a reserve of a given natural environment and the utilization of natural resources," and the draft "Concept of environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources of the Tajik SSR," which will soon be put up for public discussion.

As the result of the work conducted in the republic as a whole, a tendency toward a certain improvement in the ecological situation has been noted. The average content of all controlled pollutants (except dust) in the air of Kalininabad, Tursunzade, and Leninabad has been reduced to sanitary norms. Discharges of hazardous substances have decreased 6 percent by comparison to 1988.

The improvement of watering equipment and other measures reduced water use from natural bodies of water by 142 million cubic meters in comparison to 1988. The discharge of polluted waste water into the river Bakhsh was reduced by 8.6 million cubic meters. Its water quality, as well as that of the Isfara river, has improved. Thus, it can be said that a foundation has been laid for the radical perestroyka of the cause of environmental protection in the republic.

However, today we are still only approaching the resolution of fundamental environmental protection problems, the elimination of the causes stipulating the increase in ecological pressure on nature. What are these causes? First and foremost, this is the insufficient allocation of funds. Thus, last year, only R25.5 million was allocated for environmental protection measures, comprising about one-half of one percent of the republic national income, while at the same time, in developed countries, this index is 4-6 percent. The next cause is the inadequate study of extremely complex ecological problems. As a result of this, there still do not exist quality standards for the state of the biosphere and the environment, nor are there fundamental norms for proportional consumption of natural resources for the production of basic forms of industrial and agricultural products.

The faultiness of the current economic mechanism and the contradiction among public, collective, and personal interests are one of the basic causes of the dissatisfactory ecological situation. Here are several examples of a predatory attitude toward nature's gift—water. Out of all the industrial enterprises consuming the water of the Syr-Darya and discharging waste waters into it, only two, the Isfara chemical and hydrometallurgical plants—have introduced water recirculation. This is obviously insufficient for implementing the state program to preserve the Aral Sea.

An incident has been established in Kumsangirskiy Rayon in which one lessee applied the poisonous chemical [tiotan], taken in a large quantity from the Kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov warehouse, in impermissible doses. This ignorant, and more importantly, irresponsible approach, caused water poisoning and a fish kill. In the village of



Sebiston, there was a burst in the dam of a sludge collector tank, and a 12-cubic-meter mass of untreated wastes was discharged into the dry ravine, and further, into the Toir-Su river. In the first case, nature was done R48,000 worth of damage; in the second, R28,000.

The causes conditioning the negative consequences on nature, and the incidents of the manifestation of this can be enumerated even further. I would like to pause briefly on the fundamental principles guiding us in our work.

First of all, this is legality. Every person, every generation, the present one and the one that will come to replace us, has the right to live under normal natural conditions. This right will be legitimized by the law on environmental protection now being developed. This same law will begin to regulate utilization of nature and will provide legal defense for environmental protection activity.

The following principle is the economic base of utilization of nature. It is quite clear that along with the legal levers of regulation, the economic levers are the most powerful. Payment for utilization of nature is being introduced within the country's territory starting from 1991, and we will be among those best prepared for this: Even now, an experiment is being conducted in Dushanbe for the collection of payment for polluting the environment. The essence of the experiment is that every enterprise producing atmospheric discharges and polluted waste water in the environment must contribute a prorated sum to a special account, in accordance with the expense of restoring the aftermath of the pollution. We note that the resources from the special account are directed exclusively toward environmental purposes.

The folk saying goes, "penny wise and pound foolish." Therefore, it is impossible to skimp on environmental protection activity. Predicting and preventing negative consequences of anthropogenic effects on nature is one of the basic principles. Restoration of that which has been violated costs a great deal more. Chernobyl and the Aral Sea are stark examples of this.

Laboratories outfitted with the most modern apparatus and equipment are needed to increase the efficacy of controlling the changes in the environment and conducting ecological testing. We set great hopes here in the conversion being conducted in our country. Yet major appropriations are needed for this, and as I have already noted, insufficient resources are allocated for environmental protection.

According to the accurate definition of Academician A. Yablokov, the sources of thoughtlessness that led to the emergence of ecological disaster zones are ecological ignorance, nearsightedness, adventurism, and immorality. Therefore, one of the most important tasks of those who favor environmental protection is the universal education of the population.

Close to this is the following principle, upon which Goskompriroda relies in its work—the principle of glasnost. The frequent speeches in the press by the committee's specialists is the confirmation of this. It seems that the publication of data on morbidity and human health related to the use of pesticides and other poisonous chemicals, the effects of electromagnetic waves and other factors would resolve many ecological problems within a short period. The so-called "official use" data must without fail become the property of glasnost.

The regeneration of the national traditions of utilizing nature is one of the directions of the committee's activity. In the East, they say: a human is for fulfilling his debt to future generations; he must build a home, raise a worthy son, and plant a tree. In the republic today, 16,000 hectares of forest are lost annually! Let us recall: Previously, every fall, the peasant [dekhkanin] would go plant trees with his sons in the mountains—walnut, juniper, almond, pistachio, and others. This and other fine traditions must be reborn. If everybody planted just one tree per year, then in 10-20 years' time, this would be a great forest with many millions of trees.

I do not set as my goal the enumeration of all the difficulties that have appeared in the first year of Goskompriroda's work. At the same time, I cannot help but discuss one of them. We have a major shortage of qualified cadres. And ecology specialists are trained in only two places in the country—at Moscow State and Kazan State Universities. But unfortunately, they are not sent to work here.

I would also like to note the following. Elections of people's deputies to the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet were recently completed. In the pre-election platforms of both the deputies and the candidates who did not get by, according to the voting results, a great deal of attention was paid to ecological problems. I do not think that the publication of the list of lamentably well-known cities with air pollution, including Dushanbe, was the impetus for this. Today, all the republic's residents have realized: The air we breathe, the ground on which we walk, the water in which we splash are our direct legacy, left us by our ancestors, and our task is to hand down what we have to our descendants, not the way it is now, but much better, and cleaner. And the benevolent attitude toward ecological problems on the part of the people's deputies is a guarantee that the proposals we raise will be accepted with understanding by the Supreme Soviet.

In conclusion, I want to say that a 24-hour dispatcher center is in operation at the republic Goskompriroda. Anyone can call 27-91-58 and report incidents of violation of environmental protection legislation, express his wishes, and make proposals for improving environmental protection.

**Charges Filed in Kiev 'Ecology Demonstration'**

90UN1758A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in  
Ukrainian 27 Apr 90 p 4

[News brief by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent L. Yanyuk: "Criminal Charges Brought"]

[Text] A team of investigators from the Directorate of Investigation of the Kiev City Executive Committee Directorate of Internal Affairs has commenced an investigation in response to a decision by the public prosecutor's office to investigate a criminal case involving facts of exceptional cynicism which insult the dignity of V. I. Lenin and public morality.

Such acts were committed by a group of citizens who on 22 April 1990 took part in an environmental demonstration.

The investigating team includes 10 officers from the investigation services, including criminal investigation. The investigation is currently being conducted in three Kiev rayons: Zaliznichnyy, Leninskiy, and Pecherskiy—on the basis of eyewitness testimony as well as a videotape provided by the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, which was submitted as an evidentiary document. Incidentally, this videotape was shown to the people's deputies of the Kiev City Soviet at one of their first-session meetings. It aroused indignation on the part of the deputies.

**Discussion at 7th RSFSR Writers' Union Plenum**

90UN1632A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian No 12, 23 Mar 90 pp 2-10

[Report of discussion at 7th RSFSR Writers Union Plenum, compiled by Vyacheslav Sukhnev: "Russia's Fate, Russia's Hopes"]

[23 March 90, p 6]

[Excerpts] Participating in the discussion were:

**Aleksandr Prokhanov**

In recent years we have been embroiled in exhausting strife, in a quarrel which consumes our spirits. We do not have time to sit down and write, time to focus our minds on understanding the world: we are all in a frenzy, poisoned by suspicion; we are seeking opponents and making lists of our friends. We have been distracted from the huge task which has been thrust upon us by our times: to comprehend what is occurring, to understand the tremendous, all-threatening mystery which is encoded in these days. It seems that before our very eyes a grandiose act of betrayal is being prepared which is without parallel in the history of the Russian State; this is a time when our state, the Soviet Union, is being torn apart, undermined and destroyed. There is at work an insidious force which consistently embodies the idea of our quarrel. We have all been set at odds with one another and made malicious. Those who just yesterday we spoke of as if not brothers then at least friends and comrades today we talk about as a tangle of wild people who hate one another, as offended peoples and colliding social groups.

The ethnic energy which has erupted as if from a volcano throughout the entire territory of the Soviet Union is to a great extent the energy of rending and of offense, the energy of revenge, the energy of suffering and drama. These are not the sacred ideas of the Renaissance, but rather the energy of disaster. This energy was skillfully and immediately harnessed by cunning politicians who molded it into the form of a structure, in the form of the people's fronts which now function in an all-encompassing way. Now before our very eyes, before the exhausting verbosity of the Supreme Soviet had even died away, these cunning individuals have hijacked a republic, and the Soviet Union and its "statesmen" leaders are not capable of doing anything. Tomorrow a second republic will be hijacked like the first, then a third, and a sixth... The Soviet Union is being destroyed before our very eyes.

*Later A. Prokhanov talked about the bugbear of a Soviet "empire" which is used to frighten the world public.*

*Continuing, he said:* It is impossible to pay ethnic bribes to our fastidious neighbors. What is to be done? We must have a sovereign, intact, strong and self-oriented Russia. We must finally awaken Russian national energy, the Russian national idea, which alone can by bursting free serve as the basis for a state edifice, for the salvation and

rebirth of the state. But how can we utilize this energy if they snuff out, suppress and curtail this energy, regarding it as dangerous, leading us toward false national ideals, plunging us into a depression, shooting us up with depressants which will not allow us to move. One of these depressants, the most terrible and barbaric, is the bugbear of Russian fascism, on the basis of which they are willing to hand down the most terrible judgement against us, preparing another Nuremberg for us. But this energy will break through all the dams and blockages and burst free. Therein lies the mission of writers, artists and the intelligentsia. We better than anyone else are in a position to appeal to the most deeply hidden depths of the people's soul. This energy should not be poured out into a vacuum; it cannot warm a cold, empty, savage Universe. It should be filled at once with a national ideal, a national ideology. That very same culture and literature, you and I, our multifaceted, thinking, suffering soul must all work to create that national ideal.

What is it, this ideal of a future Russia? How will it be expressed? Obviously this ideal will include the theme of suffering, of love, of brotherhood and universal collective action. That is, the ancient and eternal ideal of togetherness. It, this ideal, must definitely include the theme of infinity, the Russian perception of the cosmos, the idea of limitlessness. This is both the Orthodox religious idea and the idea of the noosphere, the idea of distances in infinity, the imperishability of the Earth alone, at the same time ephemeral, finite and mortal.

And, of course, this ideology will include the theme of strength, chivalrous valor, might and invincibility. This valor and might will not be wasted on conquering the world, on bringing others to their knees. On the contrary, it will be used to overcome the tragedy, the torment into which we have all been plunged. To bring about a rebirth.

This renaissance movement has already begun among Russian writers. It was born in patriotic writers' organizations such as the Association of Russian Artists, Yedinstvo [Unity] and Otechestvo [Fatherland] and now encompasses broad cultural circles and has spilled over into the working class, the fields of science and technology and the army.

This movement has come to be called the "United Council of Russia" [Obyedinennyi Sovet Rossii] or "People's Accord" [Narodnoye soglasiye]. From its origins in the depths of humanistic circles it has moved to a wider forum, taking part in the election campaign, in the pre-election competitions, in the pre-election battles. In essence this newborn will become the future party of national rebirth. It is already formulating a concept for the future state order in Russia. This concept definitely includes preservation of a strong army. An army which shall take up positions along the borders of our deprived, bled-white Russia, Russia who has been cast out to be torn asunder by a mighty, hostile world. It, the army, will guarantee our sovereignty in unclear, chaos-filled times.

We will, no matter what the cost, develop our scientific and intellectual potential, which is presently being shamelessly squandered and dissipated. We are being shut out of development and shouldered aside in the world process, deprived of the opportunity to be equals in the high-tech civilization of the 21st century. A program for the preservation of science and technology will protect the future Russian State's precious store of knowledge.

We will fight the mafias which have sunk their teeth into us, sucking out our blood, will and intellect. This struggle will be carried on with social, economic and, if necessary, military means. If it is not, then we will be torn apart.

We will strive to create the proper conditions for free tillers of the soil, not an agrarian program or a high-flown food system, but instead a population which, finally, will settle the land and unite the Russian land and the Russian soul, the Russian cosmos and the Russian State, and will preserve and protect future life in Russia.

And, of course, Russian culture, a long-suffering culture, which will enfold all aspects of the people's lives and be their guiding light.

The "Russian idea" is unthinkable without the "Ukrainian idea" and the "Belorussian idea" as well. As it is unthinkable without the precious cultures and ideologies bestowed upon Russia by all the peoples which inhabit it. This national energy is even now bursting free and will be seized upon by intelligent, bold and just people of action, who are out there among the people.

We very much need to cherish one another. All those gathered here in this auditorium today are filled with suffering, insults, expectations and aspirations. Let all of us be a bastion of the philosophy of social and national stoicism. We must respond eagerly to every kind look, every proffered handshake, every offer of friendship. And avoid every unkind look, turn away from the fist extended in our direction, duck the stone flying toward us. We still need each other very much in the coming time of tribulation.

[passages omitted]

**Valentin Chikin, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
Editor-in-Chief**

I will not delve into history, nor will I take a long look ahead, but I do want to invite you think about the coming months. You will realize that in the coming months and weeks very many issues will be decided in our lives and in the life of the Russian Federation, because during that time a new authority will take shape here in Russia, our new government. Our new state system will depend on how that government is formed, as will everything else in our lives. I speak of this with particular concern because I keep asking myself the same

question over and over again: who will personally embody our power, both in the Russian Federation and in all its social structures?

A word about the elections, both those which have already taken place and those which are presently drawing to a close. They were very difficult elections. Even though there was not a great deal of activism on the part of the masses, as has repeatedly been noted, there was tremendous activism on the part of certain independent organizations which are not even properly registered yet which have assumed the name of our Russia and the name of our democracy and under those names rampaged through the elections.

I do not know about you, but I as a voter in Moscow could feel the pressure, the coercion very palpably, as I felt the letters signed by all sorts of people. Even the Leningrader Sobchak, who has been mentioned favorably, recommended about 15 individuals from Moscow, encouraging people to vote for them.

We have talked about all this many times before. Now, here at the plenum, I have received a TASS commentary entitled "Bludgeoning a Way Into Parliament." It summarizes various cases in which people with a criminal past have unscrupulously invaded all our systems, proposing themselves, hawking themselves, imposing themselves. It would be very sad if at the present stage, when our Russian government is taking shape, we should prove easy prey for various gamblers or adventurists.

I can tell you this: it was surprising and unnatural before in old Russia, and even more so in the Soviet years, for moneybags to promote themselves so actively. We know that some deputies could afford to hire people to send out postcards, could hire people for big money to stand watch at polling places; I even know of one case in which someone brought two buses containing barrels of wine to a polling place and treated people to a drink of Aksakalov as they went in to vote.

And so there are 100 days left. I would like to ask you to take a look at all of our society. A youth movement is taking shape right now. Literally a day or two from now the Russian Trade Union Congress will convene and Russian trade unions will be created. There already exist initiative groups proposing their own programs for convening a Russian Party Congress.

I think that we should turn to face these processes and these public movements, because Russia's writers' organization is the strongest strand in the Federation's whole environment.

*Thereupon V. Chikin talked about the problem of party life in Russia.*

The Central Committee's Russian Buro is, in my opinion, an orphaned palliative which plays virtually no role, especially not a decisive one, in the affairs of Russia's party organizations. I am convinced that we will never receive our own powerful government until we

create a strong Russian party organization, for therein as well I see the salvation of the party itself. It seems to me that today, at a time when you and I together with all the people have elected a President and removed Article 6 from the Constitution, something will most likely happen. Something will happen which, generally speaking, will in some way detach the party from its functions, from its consolidating, pivotal function. It seems to me that even quite soon we will see something like a new Politburo in the form of a presidential council which will decide all issues. And therein lies a guarantee of something which should concern us; we must think about the fact that in these months—March, April and May—we must have our persuasive say, while the heated labor of constructing the entire Russian structure is underway. I have even thought that it is not essential that we see some traditional politician at the top of our state hierarchy. Why could our president or presidium leader not be the most respected writer or the greatest, most interesting, most respected scientist, someone who is the conscience of the people, someone who has proven through his life and all his creativity, mind and heart that he is devoted with his life and all his creativity to the idea of the strengthening, salvation and survival of our Russia?

I am saying all this so that we will now create the proper conditions for consolidation of all forces and all movements. There are such movements among the people, they are simply somewhat uncoordinated: ecological and patriotic movements, new structures which are constantly taking shape. And if writers would dare with their inherent talent and passion to add their mite to the consolidating, linking basis, if they do not withdraw but instead create solid support for our newborn Russian government, then I think that we will have good prospects and a bright future.

[passages omitted]

[30 March 90, p 6]

[Text] Vladimir Bondarenko

It is pleasant to sit in a hall filled with fellow-thinkers and curse one's opponents, to criticize OGONEK, Korotich, even Politburo member A. N. Yakovlev, knowing full well that one's audience will respond with applause. But have we not spent long enough in the pointless trading of insults and replying to all the yelping of all manner of foes? How long we will keep on deceiving ourselves, feeling triumphant within a circle of friends? Unfortunately, in these two days I have not heard any constructive proposals, nor any specific criticism directed at ourselves, nor any analysis of our own mistakes and defeats. Only in A. Prokhanov's speech did I sense any program for future action. Do we really have anything to rejoice about, anything to boast about? Yesterday I learned of the results of the second round of voting in the Russian people's deputy elections. Another total defeat. I heartily congratulate Valeriy Khayryuzov and the few other Russian writers who have become

people's deputies in Russia, but they are extremely rare exceptions against an overall backdrop of defeat.

Once again Russia, just like in 1917, is getting off on the wrong foot, despite its own wise folk saying in that regard. On the basis of that saying one could assume that the period today will also be threatening, with April-like changeability. There is the hope for "the thunderstorm at the beginning of May," the good cleansing thunderstorm that we all love. But in contrast to the seasons, which follow one another without fail, in spite of all the Politburo's decisions, our cleansing May will depend on all us alone. It might not happen... Then there will be a total onslaught against the reborn national thinking of Russia's peoples. There will be a new flood of political prisoners convicted under Article 74. Our opponents have not yet taken power, yet at the end of the year the Supreme Soviet increased the penalty for violation of Article 74 from three to 10 years. Already LITERATURNAYA GAZETA—our writers' voice, the voice of humanism—has joyously announced in a banner headline: "74 Set in Motion!" Murderers currently are sentenced to seven or eight years, but an incautious statement could get you the Stalinist ten. The Gulag will not lack for residents under the "democrats"...

We are holding our plenum after the USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum, after the 3rd Congress of People's Deputies, after elections to the Russian Supreme Soviet. We can sum up the preliminary results. They are sad. We, Russian writers and Russian patriotic forces, have lost everywhere that we could lose. Russian writers have on them the shameful blemish of OKTYABR. The elections to the Russian soviets were lost. A few days ago in an outright Stalinist manner, by Stalinists like Yevtushenko, Surovtsev and others, by a clique of functionaries and apparatus members, just one-third of all USSR Writers' Union Board secretaries, a new editor-in-chief was elected for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, our sole writers' organ. Staraya Square (the CPSU Central Committee) hastily confirmed this illegal, behind-closed-doors decision. How can such a thing be possible in democratic times? And will Russian writers also bear this shame of behind shut out of participation in free elections? Do we not realize that only a USSR Writers' Congress has the right to elect a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editor-in-chief from among multiple candidates? If we do not resolve at this Russian Writers' Congress Board plenum to dissent from this dictatorial approach to the fate of our writers' newspaper, then what are any of us worth?

We are constantly losing, we are losing our Russian young people, losing the Russian people's intelligentsia, because we are always playing the black pieces... As I recently read in a good article, even a brilliant chess player will not win a single tournament if he plays only the black pieces.

It is we, Russian writers, who should begin a de-Stalinization campaign. Who has suffered more than the Russian people from this monstrous dictatorship, which

for 70 years has struck a total blow at Russian ethnic self-awareness and Russian culture? The cautious attempts to whitewash Stalinism, which are virtually equivalent to it, the attempts to defend the dictatorship of anti-national forces, are leading to a consistent loss of respect for the Russian Writers' Union among Russians and other peoples...

It is we, Russian writers, who should inscribe the motto "Democratic Russia" on our own banner. What, are we opposed to freedom and democracy? Is national and religious rebirth really possible without freedom for every citizen of Russia? Can the free Russian tiller of the soil really be reborn in servitude? This is our national motto, and to hand it over to all sorts of extremists who are completely bereft of democratic consciousness is one of our fundamental mistakes... As a result of this we have lost and continue to lose millions of voters and readers. But freedom is not our political program, it is our national essence, as was correctly stated recently by Academician Dmitriy Likhachev, expressing his indignation at those who adhere to the notion of "Russia the millennial slave."

Long ago, at the Ryazan on-site session of the RSFSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat following my return from Estonia, I proposed that our own national Russian People's Front be established. People objected, saying that it was not the right time or place, and that there was no hurry... This Russian People's Front has now been established, but not by us, and there is not the slightest trace of the Russian spirit, Pushkin's Russian spirit, in it!

Why did this happen? The Russian Writers' Union leadership, instead of relying on the people, preferred to play ball with those in power, with the apparatus. With all due respect for certain leaders and with disrespect for some others, I can see one thing in common among them: loss of a sense of reality and absolute loss of contact with our movement. Our leaders sincerely feel that we will be helped by contact with the party apparatus. Even rank-and-file communists no longer have any hope for their apparatus, yet we continue to ride the party's coattails. Yuvan Shestakov said it well when he said that in Leningrad we supported the party leadership, but it did not support us... The same thing is happening at the level of the Russian Writers' Union. As we lose the people's support we place our reliance on the party's corridors of power, while they publicly sell us out left and right...

Russian writers timidly follow the latest instructions from the CPSU Central Committee plenum, yet in return we are slandered in the central party press and accused of open dissent. They spit in our faces, yet our leaders are still confident of the divine origin of this moisture. Continued ties to the party apparatus will be our complete undoing.

Let them take care of their own crisis first. I do not know whether this is the capitulationist policy of Imry Nagy, who watched from his window as rank-and-file party

workers were hanged from lampposts and called their executioners the saviors of the people, thereby saving his own hide, or whether this is a conscious "Red Guard terror" like in China's Cultural Revolution, a "firing on headquarters," achieving personal popularity by promoting the defeat of one's own party...

History will show! But it is not for us to have a hand in this foolish policy... We are the one who are being called "Russian fascists" in the party newspapers; they are trying to silence us!

The Russian Writers' Union does not need to get involved in politics. Our highest goal is the spiritual, cultural and Christian revival of Russia. And for the Muslim people of Russia a Muslim revival, for the Buddhists a Buddhist revival, and so on.

Unfortunately our present leaders are still thinking in the old way. Two ideologies—the Stalinist and Brezhnevist—have been displaced and the political and social structures are changing, yet we still want to decide everything in the old way. In order to perform our real tasks we will need new, real leaders. And I have the feeling that our Russian Writers' Union leadership is more afraid of us than it is of April...

As long as we remain in a bloc together with the apparatus we are doomed to failure. Does it not sound farcical to rephrase the great line by Stolypin in his "Platform of Russian Patriotic Forces" to read: "We need a great Soviet Russia"?

As you well know, we no longer have "Soviet power," we have "presidential power" as a form of government. That means that there are no longer "Soviet people," there are "presidential people"; there is no "Soviet literature," only "presidential literature" and "presidential writers."

So as not to appear ridiculous our new literary policy must be freed of any and all ideologization and politicization. Politics may change, but Russia remains. In our uncertain era anything is possible, any sort of political changes. We have among us confirmed communists and confirmed socialist revolutionaries, confirmed monarchists and confirmed anarchists. So be it! We are united by a single truly great task: the intellectual and religious revival of Russia. In contrast to April's RAPP-like [RAPP—Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, 1925-32] platform we must create an independent and free Russian Writers' Union on a creative basis. Everyone who loves Russia should be a member. We must renounce sectarianism. Do not Ye. Nosov and B. Mozhayev love Russia, are not D. Likhachev and M. Rostropovich Russian patriots? Many of those who are presently members of April are weary of its cheap political tricks and are fully devoted to Russia. We are their kindred. There should only be one barrier to membership in the Russian Writers' Union: against writers who disdain and hate Russia just like all the other backward peoples and republics... This shall be our highest policy: unification of Russian culture. Finally,

the Russian Writers' Union should be fully independent of any party or public structures, including the USSR Writers' Union. In Russia today we have both Russian writers and "Soviet writers." There is nothing like this in Georgia, or in Estonia, or in Moldavia.

The USSR Writers' Union needs just the one LITERATURNAYA GAZETA for all the republics, and just a single journal, DRUZHBA NARODOV. All the other press organs, from NOVYY MIR to YUNOST, should belong to the Russian Writers' Union. For there are no union journals in any other republic. Russian journals are all journals published in the languages of Russia's peoples and located within the territory of Russia. There is no "union language," nor is there any neutral "union territory," hence there should not be any absurd union journals, either. Is Sergey Zalygin not a Russian writer?

A word about LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. I propose that the plenum express a decided lack of confidence in the illegal decision by a small group of literary functionaries appointing of an editor-in-chief for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. I feel that it is wrong to attempt to present A. Prokhanov from the Russian Writers' Union at a session of the USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat in a hasty, ill-considered and ill-founded manner. They should be held accountable to our leaders for their actions.

Are S. V. Mikhalkov and Yu. V. Bondarev not ashamed to look V. V. Lichutin in the eye? I, for one, am ashamed. As a writer he is at least no less talented than our literary leaders, so why expose him to worldwide ridicule? In any civilized country leaders who are unable to carry out their own decisions simply resign. Will the decision making V. Lichutin editor-in-chief of OKTYABR be carried out? We should recognize the "Appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet," which harshly explains the whole situation to the people's deputies. If that does not work, we should make the OKTYABR issue a point on the Russian Writers' Congress agenda. If we do not carry out this decision then, it is time to dissolve our union. It is not Lichutin or the journal which are at issue here. If we are not capable of carrying out our own decisions in our own press organs, then that means that we are completely powerless! If you cannot defend a decision, then resign!

And one last thing. Just recently the USSR Writers' Union, bypassing all authorities, accepted a large group of young writers for Writers' Union membership on the basis of V. Karpov's signature. Virtually every month the secretariat, once again bypassing all authorities, restores various foreign residents, even some with foreign citizenship, to Writers' Union membership...

I propose that the Russian Writers' Union Board plenum accept two leaders of the Russian literary renaissance as members of the Russian Writers' Union: I. R. Shafarevich and L. I. Borodin. I think that by doing so we would salute not only them, but also ourselves and our Writers' Union.

Let us put all our efforts behind the spiritual revival of Russia! People with the most diverse political and social views and of the most diverse nationalities who love Russia and believe in it, free and talented people, should take the helm of our organization when it receives its new name: the Russian Writers' Union. We need a great and free Russia not dependent on political adjectives. We have had enough of playing with the black pieces.

Russia should be playing with the white pieces!

[passages omitted]

**Stanislav Kunyayev, NASH SOVREMENNIK**  
**Editor-in-Chief**

Dear friends, sometimes I am astonished at how naively some of our cultural figures—from Ananyev, who recently spoke on television, to Korotich and Yevtushenko, and to the Radio Liberty television and radio commentators—proclaim: what it Russophobia but something dreamed up by chauvinists? Mere fantasy! But unfortunately facts are stubborn things.

Lately I have been reading the press a great deal. It almost burns one's fingers. I read: "The Russian people are a people with a distorted consciousness"—this from a report given by people's deputy Starovoytova in Leningrad which has been passed around widely. Or, for example, Ozolas, a people's deputy from Sajudis, writing in their newspapers: "Russians are feeble in an ethnic sense." This is the voice of "homo sajudis," if you will allow me to make that characterization.

Or, for example: "Russia is a country of fools. All Russian (Soviet) people are schizophrenic." "Russia should be destroyed." "Can it be that Russians are insane?"

I am not making these things up. This was published in an article by poetess Tatyana Shcherbina in the magazine DAUGAVA, Issue No 1, in Russian. They say that she is Russian. Perhaps, because any family can produce monsters, but editor-in-chief Dozortsev is an internationalist, judging by his name: Vladlen (meaning Vladimir Lenin).

My own dear Kaluga Komsomol paper recently printed the findings of a certain journalist named Strokin. These began with the statement that the Vyatichis, who formed the basis of the Russian people, were the most conservative of all the Slavic tribes. I quote: "Russian heroism is the fear of possible changes." Or, another example: "The Russian character is historically degenerate. Reviving it would mean once again condemning our country to backwardness which could easily become chronic." And this from the Komsomol newspaper MOLODOY LENINETS [Young Leninist], which should probably be renamed MOLODOY RASIST [Young Racist].

Incidentally, nowadays our country's Komsomol press is frolicking and blaspheming at will, and even the fact that Politburo member A. N. Yakovlev regularly speaks at the Higher Komsomol School and admonishes the press

does not help. It continues as before, promoting the same old ideas, not heeding the principle theoretician and designer of restructuring. They keep playing pranks... What can you say about our Komsomol? In the 1960's it opened up the virgin lands, and was renowned for that. In the 1970's it built the BAM. And in the 1980's it has been most notable for the fact that it has created an immense network of pornographic video shops stretching from Kamchatka to Brest. And it is probably this which will be remembered in Komsomol history.

At the same time these publications pledge their devotion to internationalism and laud Pasternak, not understanding what Boris Leonidovich himself wrote in 1940, a year when Stalinist repression was flourishing:

*Through the peripeties of the past, Through years of wars and poverty I silently came to know Russia's Inimitable traits... Overcoming my awe, I watched, deifying, Here were old women, villagers, Students and fitters. In them there was no trace of the servility That want brings. Griefs and discomforts alike They bore like lords.*

These verses were written in 1940, yet in them Russians are full of dignity; the poet treats them with reverence and respect. These are not feeble people with "a slavish Russian spirit," in them is "no trace of servility." And all the provocative howling from Arro about how the RSFSR Writers' Union Secretariat and NASH SOVREMENNİK are calculating to the last drop what sort of blood flows in whose veins are repulsive, because Pasternak, though a Jew by origin, was a genuine Russian patriot in this poem and in many others. He was in love with Russia and Russian culture. How people fail to understand these things, and how lightly they speculate in that blood which some people are supposedly counting drop for drop!

Look what comes next. B. L. Pasternak cannot be placed on a par with the Russophobe Sinyavskiy and his apologists. Incidentally, a word about Ananyev. Recently we were speaking in Novosibirsk, when suddenly I was handed an unusual present, wrapped up in a newspaper. I opened the package and gasped. What was it? I will show you. These are underwear, men's underwear, manufactured in Ternopol. Here is a profile of Tatyana and some verses by Pushkin: "Tatyana, a Russian woman in spirit," excerpts from "Yevgeniy Onegin" and Pushkin's autograph. Since Anatoliy Andreyevich Ananyev has unleashed an anti-Pushkin campaign in his journal, we should personally present him with these shorts, and I request that the secretariat do so. Or should we perhaps take Literary Fund money and buy a whole shipment of shorts and send them to the whole OKTYABR editorial staff?

I would also like to address another subject: that of our ethnic relations, which are being destroyed very cunningly, flagrantly and at the same time mercilessly. The latest VESTNIK YEVREYSKOY KULTURY [Chronicle of Jewish Culture] contained an appeal from the

Rukh Secretariat in regard to ethnic relations. It mentioned the "chauvinistic" journal NASH SOVREMENNİK and the "chauvinistic RSFSR Writers' Union plenum," as well as appeals from chauvinists urging people to carry out (and I quote) "anti-Semitic actions on 5 May." This was a statement issued by Rukh.

Let me begin with the final point. Some sort of sinister pogroms have been slated for 5 May. It appears that the "patriots" have already begun setting deadlines. Though these "deadlines" were set by Shchekochikhin, a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent, and by deputies Boldyrev and Samarin. Recently Uzbekistan passed a law providing criminal penalties for provocative rumors which sow panic. The RSFSR should probably also pass a law setting down penalties for similar cases.

But God is on their side, and on the side of the law. What is it that bothers me? The Rukh leadership includes some writers: Drach, Yavorivskiy and Pavlychko. Are they not aware that in 1989 NASH SOVREMENNİK devoted two whole issues to Ukrainian literature? We published the best Ukrainian poets and publicists and a remarkable writer, Khvylevyy, who fell victim to repression. Can they be unaware of this, since the Rukh Secretariat brands our journal "chauvinistic"? In upcoming issues we will have poems by Musa Gali, prose by Yu. Shestakov and B. Ukachin, and publicistic work by I. Alekseyev, a Yakut. We must strengthen our contacts through actions. Multiethnic relations are real business, not just slogans. Different journals work to strengthen nationalities relations in different ways. We strengthen them with the sort of multiethnic palette I just described, while YUNOST, for example, strengthens them by publishing Galich in one issue, then Korzhavin in another, Brodskiy in a third, and Aksenov in a fourth, thus obtaining a unique multiethnic picture. To the leaders of Rukh I want to say this: do not be puppets in the hands of a third power, do not destroy our ancient Russian-Ukrainian ties, do not dance to the tune of those who equally indifferent to both Russian and Ukrainian culture!

I would like to ask: what do the provocateurs want?

([S. Mikhalkov] Power!)

Most of all. But how to achieve it? I would like to quote from a response written by me and published recently in LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA: "They need to offend our spirit, our history and our feelings so strongly and painfully that we will fly into a convulsive rage, so that in a rage we will say the wrong thing, do the wrong thing, shout the wrong thing. When that happens the next move has already been prepared in advance: we are to be accused of inciting pogroms. Obviously they want this very much, at least one person to cause an uproar and call for pogroms. Their pens are at the ready, their typewriters uncovered, their video cameras set. They are salivating in their eagerness for any incident that will allow them once again to accuse us of aggression, imperial mannerisms and anti-Semitism, so that once again



they can cook up the Russophobic stew and feed it to the whole world—then just watch how they push some new law through the Supreme Soviet! That is the provocateurs' most cherished dream: they do not give a damn about either Russians or about ordinary Jews. When we respond to their provocations with furious outrage we are simply providing grist for their mill. But we cannot keep silent, for the insults heaped upon us are too finely and diabolically crafted. Therefore we will respond to them as befits Pushkin's heirs: firmly, confidently and calmly. Not with aggressive rage, but with cold disdain instead. Neither the great nor the small demons who provoke us deserve any more than that. Irony, coolness and disdain.

Give my present—this pair of men's underwear—to Ananyev.

[passages omitted]

**Dmitriy Zhukov**

[passages omitted]

We know that the administration of foreign policy is concentrated in the hands of Politburo member Yakovlev. But do we know everything about him personally? We only know that in 1972 he wrote an article on anti-historicism when he was head of the Central Committee Ideological Department. That article so offended Russians' ethnic dignity, so demeaned our state, that demands that Yakovlev be fired flooded in. I can tell you that the final proof of a book I had just written about Protopope Avvakum was buried, and that it was published only in 1973, after Yakovlev had been made ambassador to Canada.

Now that he has been recalled from over there he is back up to his old tricks. Through his efforts the Russophobes got their hands on... Well, you know what was turned over to them. At least in 1972 our protests had an effect. Now nothing will help us.

[passages omitted]

**V. G. Bryusova, Doctor of Art Studies**

[passages omitted]

But there is a more specific reason for my appeal to writers: the two election campaigns we have lost. Whereas in the first elections, one year ago, we could have been reproached for a lack of zeal, the same cannot be said this time. Our best forces entered the struggle, literally the flower of the Russian intelligentsia, and among them were quite a few well-known and well-respected writers, poets and literary critics. Not a single one of them was elected in the first round of balloting, and only scattered individuals made it to the second round, with virtually no hope of success there. How could this happen? The picture is extremely clear: creation by electoral commissions of unequal conditions for deputy candidates and, secondly, outright falsification of vote totals. As a rule the green light was given to

previously unknown figures hastily trained to mouth the slogans of "democrats" and "interregionalists" and to smear their opponents.

Esteemed comrades, the support given to precisely these candidates by the administrative-command staff of electoral commissions gives us cause to think over many things. As does the fact that, for example, Radio Liberty broadcast regular reports on the RSFSR people's deputy voting, and not just for cities but even for individual rayons. For example, in Irkutsk Oblast Radio Liberty knew the names of all the candidates and instructed the Soviet citizens who were "just learning democracy" for whom to vote. But just let us try to tell the Americans or the citizens of the FRG for whom to vote! Such flagrant interference in a state's internal affairs is permitted only in "developing countries," and now we are counted as one of those.

How can we speak of any "foreign policy successes" for our policy?!

Thus the electoral campaign, orchestrated according to the scenario of "Western democracy," turned into the usual deception of the peoples, and not just of the Russian peoples. A gang of political gangsters is ready to take the helm of Russia, and this gang was brought to power by our unprincipled, dirty politicians and with a certain amount of help from Uncle Sam.

Yes, for the past 70 years Russia has been ruled by a government which has little concern for the fate of the Russian people. Can we tolerate this? It is time for us to take an implacable stance, because it has long been clear that there is nowhere to which we can retreat. Remember the words spoken on his deathbed by the military commander Bibikov, words which so astonished Pushkin: "I do not feel sorry for my children and my wife, but for the Fatherland."

For well-nigh ten years now the Russian public has been doing educational work; this was our truly democratic method of political struggle. Our letters, lectures, evening gatherings and articles have definitely borne fruit. And we will continue to activate and expand these forms of public action. But now they are longer enough.

As a candidate for people's deputy I went through this whole meat grinder, and I am absolutely clear on all the goings-on surrounding the elections. And I dare to predict how they will end. You and I are always late, so let us project events, even if just two or three days in advance. And events will be such that it will be precisely the political adventurers who will assume commanding positions in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Can we tolerate this? I think not! And for starters we can, as soon as the final situation become clear, go ahead and put forward our own long-range program. I propose the following four points:

1. Immediate expression of our non-recognition of the election results as soon as they are made public.

2. Expression of a general lack of confidence in the newly elected government of the Russian Federation.

3. Creation in conjunction with patriotic societies and organizations of a commission to draft a new election law following the establishment of Russian mass media organs.

4. Creation of a commission to develop forms for administration of the Russian Federation on the basis of a fully-empowered state system and on the basis of Russia's historical experience. Remember that after the Time of Troubles *zemskiye sobory* [representative councils of the various classes] were established, not a monarchy, and it was these *zemskiye sobory* that brought Russia back into the circle of Europe's great powers.

[passages omitted]

#### Mikhail Lobanov

This is what Tyutchev wrote at the outset of the Crimean War: "Now is no time for poetry, o, Russian word, great word!" This is no time for ceremonial speeches, especially now, when Russia is faced with a terrible question: to be or not to be? On the agenda stands not only the disintegration of the Union, but the partition of Russia itself. For viewpoints on this point see an article entitled "What Should Russia Be Like?" in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 23 February 1990.

The second anthology entitled "Restructuring and the Jewish Question," recently published by the Anti-Zionist Committee, contained a reprinting of an interview with Birobidzhan journalist L. Shkolnik, a people's deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations. According to him, he is filled with optimism and faith that Birobidzhan will soon be an independent state, not even a second but rather a first Israel, with an Israeli general consulate, with independent trade relations with the United States and the rest of the West, with joint enterprises, with ties to Zionist organizations. He himself makes no effort to conceal his Zionist sympathies.

That is a summary of the appeal of an initiative group organized by Shkolnik calling for withdrawal of Birobidzhan out from under the dictate of Khabarovsk Kray. According to Shkolnik, Korsunskiy, party obkom first secretary, also hinted at separation at the December CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The postwar plan by Morgenthau (American financial bigwig, Zionist and presidential advisor) to divide conquered Germany into separate countries was perceived as monstrous. This did not happen. Now a plan to divide up Russia is being promoted not as some wild idea, but rather as something completely normal. Is this not being done upon instructions from overseas, under cover of a propaganda screen about "Russian fascism"? Will we not be presented with a *fait accompli*, as has often been

the case with the plans of the "interregional opposition"? The tolerance shown by our leaders for plans to carve up Russia is astounding!

Five years of restructuring have passed. Yet what is its ideological conception? Search carefully for any official, definitive answer to this question. For example, at the latest CPSU Central Committee plenum (in March 1990) the anguished questions of several speakers were simply ignored when they asked: where are we headed? Toward socialism, or capitalism, or a social-democratic party, or where? The recognition of the well-known academician Shatalin by the plenum was typical of the current pluralism.

It was he who said: "I do not change my convictions from one day to the next, and presently I support social-democratic positions. But I have never been one of those people who would defect from the CPSU at its most difficult moments. It is another matter altogether... that I shall attempt as a party member to motivate the party leadership and the entire party to accept those ideas which are dear to me."

It could not be said any more cynically than that. This sort of go-getter is in vogue nowadays.

We hear a great deal about a common European home and the priority of common human values over national ones. Something on the order of theoretical treatments of this question have appeared in the press. The first signs of this may have been the discussion between the writer Adamovich and Shakhnazarov, an Academy of Sciences corresponding member and aide to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, under the title "New Thinking and the Inertia of Progress" (published in DRUZHBA NARODOV, No 6, 1988). Adamovich proposed beginning with a document which, it turns out, was the source of new thinking. And that was the Russell-Einstein Manifesto. The text of this manifesto, which was signed 30 years ago, has now been published in the USSR for the first time in DRUZHBA NARODOV. The gist of the manifesto may be condensed as follows: "Eradication of war will require measures aimed at restricting national sovereignty which will infringe upon the sense of national pride... Remember that you belong to the human race, and forget everything else. If you can do this the path to a new paradise is open to you. If not, then before you lies the threat of universal destruction."

Commenting on the manifesto, Shakhnazarov stressed that the principles of this document "also were further developed in the book by M. S. Gorbachev 'Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World'."

According to Shakhnazarov, one of the most important requirements of new thinking is "to see the planet and its population as a whole, to give consideration in policy not only to national but also to worldwide interests..."

"It seems to me that in the latter part of the 20th century the presence of this quality should be of primary importance as a criterion for the selection of political leaders. We must learn to perceive the world in all its complexity and diversity not as a disorderly conglomerate of separate states, but rather as a unity of communities which can become and is gradually becoming more and more guided."

In an interview (MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, 7 January 1990) I. Frolov, PRAVDA editor-in-chief and CPSU Central Committee secretary, stated: "A new way of thinking was proclaimed by Einstein as early as 1946... The Russell-Einstein Manifesto formulates it thus: all of us must realize that we are members of the human race and forget about everything else; if we do not do this we will not survive."

It should be noted that when in 1946 Einstein urged people to think in a new way he deemed it essential to establish a world government which would dictate its will to all humanity, and that at that time PRAVDA published a letter from leading Soviet scientists protesting Einstein's idea of a world government. In fact, it is not difficult to see what such a government would mean for the peoples of the world. Where are the guarantees that racist forces would not head up a world government?

An article written by Academician Sakharov in 1974 and published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA on 6 January 1990 also talks about a world government as a goal of the world community. But Shakhovskaya also said it well in her Paris commentary "Thoughts on Borders," published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on 12 January 1990. I quote: "A worldwide government could be a worldwide evil... For millions of people the existence of borders between countries was the last hope, gates opening on freedom... In our era borders are a guarantee of human freedom... Blessed is the world in which there are, like in heaven, 'many mansions'."

For decades world revolution has been foisted upon us; now that its bloody mirage has begun to fade and has along with communism lost all credibility with the new generation a new idol is being impressed upon our consciousness: a worldwide human community under the aegis of a world government. Under the threat of universal destruction we are being forced to remember merely that we belong to the human race and forget everything else, forget about our history, national treasures and culture, about everything which keeps any people alive. Only if we do this are we assured of paradise. Actually this is the road to hell, to the terrifying world concentration camp which is already quite familiar to our people as a result of those things which have happened since the revolution and which we would not wish on any other people.

The fourth issue of KOMMUNIST has just been published, and it contains a new article by Shakhnazarov: "Renewal of Ideology and the Ideology of Renewal." It

contains good words: "Every people has its own ideology—German, French, English, etc. It is well known what an important role in the Japanese 'economic miracle' was played by Japan's ideology, which is sometimes termed paternalistic. All this is correct, but why should the Russian people not have their own ideology, a Russian one, instead of constantly imitating some other source, in this case the Einstein Manifesto?" True, Shakhnazarov mentions Russian philosophers who have now become accessible. But only one name is mentioned, and I quote: "The books of Maksim Kovalevskiy and other outstanding individuals of our country's political science are waiting their turn." It is a well-known fact that M. Kovalevskiy was not only an outstanding figure in political science with a powerful orientation toward European political systems, but also an prominent figure in Masonry and an organizer of Masonic lodges in Russia in the early years of the 20th century. Glasnost is needed here as well, else ideological renewal will be incomplete.

Following the elections, at a time when unforeseen trials await Russia, it would be absurd to give ourselves over to high-flown theoretical daydreaming. We need a specific understanding of oft concealed ideological programs upon which our country's future depends. Without this we will be a blind tool in alien hands, as has often happened before in the past.

[passages omitted]

### **Russian Writers Defend Against Media 'Attacks'**

90UN1726A Moscow MOLODAYA GVARDIYA in Russian No 4, Apr 90 pp 5-7

[Report by the Secretariat of the Board of the RSFSR Writers Union: "Declaration of the Russian Writers Union Secretariat"; made public at a press conference for Soviet and Foreign Journalists on 12 February 1990 in the RSFSR Writers Union Press Center]

[Text] In the recent months since the 6th Plenum, the RSFSR SP [Writers Union] Board, Russian writers, and the Russian Writers Union have been subjected to extremely aggressive attacks the essence of which are in the impermissibility of the realistic evaluations made at the plenum. Such extremism impels us to analyze the situation, to make the following declaration.

The ever broader offensive in the mass information media elicits our great alarm and concern. All of this is taking place against the background of interethnic strife, disputes, and conflicts, which have terminated with bloodshed and human losses not for this first time during the course of perestroika. A civil war is under way in the Transcaucasus; rally democracy reigns. And the offensive activity of a number of "democratic unions" and "people's fronts" is already not to be underestimated, nor their mobility and ability to control the emotions and consciousness of the masses, their extremism, directed at seizing power. Extremist forces are not only poisoning the consciousness of people with the poison of

chauvinism and hatred of the Russian people and all that is Russian, but wish to place weapons in the hands of their brother-peoples.

The open proclamation in the USSR Supreme Soviet of the opposition platform of the interregional deputy group aimed at eroding and discrediting the spiritual and social achievements historically gained by the Soviet through suffering has become a fact worthy of discussion. The creators and inspirers of this platform, who have no doubts, want to reorient society for the USSR's gradual growth into a system of bourgeois-capitalist relations and values. The economic chaos and political anarchy spreading in the country today pursue the goal of depriving the USSR peoples of a healthy orientation, making them more complaisant and tractable on the path of economic and spiritual enslavement.

And the so-called quick reaction media, the organs of information blackening our history, the Russian people, the party, and the army, are making a certain contribution to the dulling of peoples. They cover the national issue with special partiality, without sparing the black and white tones, whether they speak of the Baltic republics or the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, or Russia.

Speculating in the single and necessary sense of national arousalment, they malevolently inflame Russophobia and anti-Semitism, chauvinism, and racism. It is indicative that speculation in the public consciousness is taking place against a background of political rehabilitation of Zionism, which has already formed into organized structures. However, it is not Zionism, as it would seem from a number of publications such as those printed in OGONEK, the resolutions of the schismatic writers' movement "Aprel," but rather the mythical Russian chauvinism, about which the "work superintendants of perestroika" with deputy seats intensely hold forth, that is, in their opinion, the manifestation of racism and facism that are threatening perestroika.

They intentionally hush up the evaluation of Zionism as an extreme form of racism given in a resolution of the United Nations Organization.

Assertions of this nature on the pages of such publications have ceased to be strange for us; here, with shameless impudence, provocational assertions on the awakening of the national consciousness of the Russian people threatening the very existence of the Jewish people are created and given press runs of millions of copies.

With all responsibility, we must state that there is a monstrous lie aimed at both the Russian and Jewish peoples hidden behind such insinuations. And apparently it is no accident that the reactionary forces gave such unhealthy, hypertrophied attention to the provocational prank that took place at the Central House of Writers on 18 January. It is indicative that the investigation of this incident of hooliganism has not yet had its say, but the passions are again being forcibly driven by precisely these leftist mass information media, which

may be viewed as nothing other than political pressure on the investigation, and attempt to delude it.

"We rightly associate the sabbath in the house of writers with the anti-Semitic mood of the last RSFSR Writers Union plenum," libelously state the "Aprel" members in OGONEK (No. 6 February 1990). History repeats itself! In the twenties, Russia's great humanist poet Sergei Esenin was accused of anti-Semitism and condemned by a public court. After the poet's death, in sad memorium, in the "evil commentaries" of Bukharin it was stated that "Ideologically, Esenin represents the most negative features of the Russian countryside and the so-called 'national character.'" We must never forget this slander, the persecution of a Russian poet of genius.

How has such devilry become possible in our country? Is it not because provocational undocumented speeches, such as that of B.L. Korsunovskiy at the September (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, or A.A. Belyayev at the session of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission in January 1989, were not properly rebuffed? Or is it because the "work superintendants of perestroika" and the "Aprel" leaders so jeeringly humiliated the authors and editorial staffers of the magazines MOSKVA, NASH SOVREMENNİK, MOLODAYA GWARDIYA, the weekly LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, and the high-circulation newspaper MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR merely for the fact that in these publications there appear materials dedicated to an objective analysis of history and modern times, that in them facts are published which are objectionable to the "radicals" longing to be at the helm of state, who already consider the Russian people be to incapable of standing up for itself, for its own honor and pride.

Marked by particular cynicism are the attacks by the "lessees of glasnost" and the "chained dogs of perestroika" on the Russian Writers Union, especially at the 6th Plenum of the RSFSR SP Board, which being accused of no more nor less than Black Hundreds activity and fascism. Unfortunately, neither the CPSU Central Committee nor the USSR Writers Union have handed down a just assessment of these organized provocational attacks.

Zionism and Russophobia are more and more becoming a weapon of political blackmail of the entire Soviet and Russian intelligentsia, of the entire Soviet and Russian peoples.

We shall repeat what has been said the the USSR Supreme Soviet: Russia does not need great shocks—it will not permit bloodshed and lawlessness. Russia will affirm its greatness by deed despite all machinations and provocations. Do not test the patience of the Russian people. It is not infinite.

We are for the CPSU platform, for the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. We are for the creation of a Russian Communist Party!

We appeal to all honest citizens of the country, to the citizens of Russia: Be vigilant! Do not give in to provocations! Strengthen our unity!

In the elections to the Russian Supreme Soviet, we shall give our vote to candidates for deputies nominated by the bloc of the social-patriotic movement of Russia!

Russian writers have been and will be with the people!

We appeal for the strengthening of the brotherhood and friendship, tested under harsh trials, with all peoples of the Soviet Union in a single, renewed federation of equal union republics!

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### Emigre Writer, Editor Maksimov Interviewed in Moscow

90UN1805A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
4 May 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with V. Ye. Maksimov, editor, KONTINENT, by G. Vasilyeva: "What Is Needed Is a Nationwide Reconciliation"]

[Text] Writers and poets who have been outside the field of vision of an entire generation are gradually returning to our country. So far, to be sure, they are returning mostly in the form of their works. Over the last year or so we have become acquainted with a portion of what V. Aksenov, V. Voynovich, S. Dovlatov, S. Sokolov, and E. Limonov have written. Some of them have already traveled back to the Soviet Union.

Vladimir Yemelyanovich Maksimov, a Russian emigre writer and editor of the journal KONTINENT, was a guest in Moscow for almost two weeks.

For many long years in our Motherland the official propaganda portrayed him simply as an "anti-Soviet person," a "monarchist," and his journal as the "most anti-communist" one. But this propaganda remained silent about Maksimov as a talented writer or about his journal, which united, and still does unite, those writers who have emigrated but who have not ceased to be Russians. They are people who, because of various circumstances, have left the land of their birth but have not stopped closely observing what is taking place in our country. Their opinions and assessments, albeit disputable, are of interest to a wide circle of readers.

[Vasilyeva] Vladimir Yemelyanovich, you have not been in Moscow since 1973. What, in your opinion, has changed since that time?

[Maksimov] Visually speaking, it's as if everything is covered with a kind of decay; there is a sense of external decrepitude. To be sure, I've only been in Moscow—except for Peredelkino, but the same thing is also true there.

As to social or public life—everything has changed to the point of non-recognition. Here too, however, there is one

"but." I'm somewhat frightened by such an unrestrained talkativeness. When I have some free time, I watch the television broadcasts of the sessions of the Supreme Soviet and the Moscow Soviet. And do you know what they remind me of? The sessions of the Duma and the Petrograd Soviet in 1917. One gets the impression that nobody wants to work—they all want to talk. Even for me, a person from "over there," it's noticeable that time is "counting down" not by hours but by minutes. And this time is taken up by wrangles over formulations and terminology rather than about the essence or substance of the matters involved. For certain deputies this has become a show: what they want is not so much to speak about substance as to present themselves on television as much as possible. This is very striking to someone standing on the sidelines. At a time when everything around us is falling apart, it seems to me that such a lack of responsibility is very dangerous.

Such are my first impressions. Perhaps they will not last long; it could be that they are of an initial and emotional nature. But in my conversations here I get the impression that I'm not the only one who thinks this way.

For example, I never anticipated that a new wave of emigration from this country would begin. Friends come to see me, persons with good positions—persons for whom everything is possible which they never even dreamed about before—in creative work and in social life; but these persons have their bags packed and are ready to go. I had thought that this period had already come to an end. Moreover, at that time most people were leaving for a different social life, for a different social reality. Creative emigration, i.e., those persons who could not implement their creative work here or who were simply forced out, comprised only a small portion.

But nowadays nobody is forcing anybody to leave. However, people are leaving who are very well-situated here, people who have reputations and positions.

[Vasilyeva] Do you think that this is because of scepticism or a lack of faith? But if that's the case, can they be blamed? Perhaps people have suffered too long....

[Maksimov] I'm a Christian, and I don't blame or condemn anyone. But I didn't think that there would be so many people gripped by fear of the future. This sets the music in a very minor key. I'm not going to name names here; perhaps they will change their minds. But such names and such persons! During the most difficult times they held on, and what has suddenly happened now?

[Vasilyeva] And would you yourself have left under the present conditions?

[Maksimov] No, in the present situation, I would not have left for anything. It is precisely now that something can be changed and something can be accomplished.

[Vasilyeva] Do you believe that, despite all the hardships, too many people have already lost faith or confidence that things can take a turn for the better in our country? Then, in your opinion, what should be done?

[Maksimov] What should be done is something elementary but, I'm afraid unrealistic under these circumstances. What is needed is a nationwide reconciliation. Otherwise, everything, even the very best model—economic or spiritual—will simply be dissolved in reciprocal hatred, as if in sulfuric acid. If such a reconciliation cannot be achieved, then everything is hopeless.

[Vasilyeva] Nowadays perhaps the most acute lack of reconciliation is in the relations between ethnic groups. Concerning the Baltic problem, you stated the following last year to some Soviet journalists who came to see you in Paris: "We must climb out of the pit together." Do you think the same way now?

[Maksimov] The point is that these are only my good wishes. But now that they have resolved to care for themselves, I sincerely wish them all the best. Independence? They are welcome to it. But only at their own expense. When people talk to me about the injustice of economic sanctions (and you know from my biography that I'm not a supporter either of this system or of the government), I consider that this is a commonly accepted economic measure in the world. When the Sandanistas came to power in Nicaragua, the United States immediately imposed an economic blockade. And then, may the Lithuanians forgive me, just compare their life with the life of the Tatars, from whose region the petroleum comes, not to mention the minority peoples of the Tyumen North, who are living at a level not much different from the Stone Age. On this petroleum these peoples could live like sheikhs; they could fly in their own airplanes and ride in Mercedes automobiles equipped with gold handles. Why then have they been "driven" to their present-day condition?

If it's to be independence, gentlemen, please take into consideration that this must be at your own expense, and not at the expense of peoples who could take advantage of their abundant resources themselves. Let me emphasize that I don't cite the Russians—they are not the point. I cite those peoples of Russia which have been brought, like most of the Russian population, to a point of utter impoverishment. Let them utilize their own abundant resources for their own national revival. And there's nothing to get indignant about here. It would be a different matter if they were to get aid from the West, and the government proceeded to blockade such help; then it would be a nasty business. But at present I even consider that this is quite a magnanimous curtailment; the necessary minimum standard of living remains. I assure you that, in an analogous case, America would declare a total boycott.

[Vasilyev] Doesn't it seem to you that, in addition to reciprocal obligations and claims, there is also a reciprocal expediency? In other words, wouldn't it be easier

for the Lithuanians, Russians, and Tatars—for everybody concerned—to get out, to extricate themselves from the present situation together?

[Maksimov] Yes. Furthermore, when I say that people must extricate themselves together, I have in mind not only the Union republics but the entire socialist world. These countries will experience the very same difficulties as the USSR. You cannot hide anywhere from this. The Czechs wanted to leave CEMA, but when Havel added it all up and figured it out, he got the following picture: their goods are non-competitive; there is nowhere to sell them; and the raw-material base is in our country. This is like galley-slaves in a boat—just one cannot declare his own freedom by himself. It's impossible for an individual barracks in a camp to proclaim its own freedom. It's necessary to act together in order to get out of such a situation. And, I assure you, this would have been much better prospects and be more effective, but it cannot be proved to anyone.

[Vasilyeva] But our country has some "hot" nationalistic spots where, despite all our wishes to bring about a reconciliation, it's difficult not to affirm that, as the situation develops, we more frequently act after the events rather than keeping ahead of them or predicting them. Isn't this the case?

[Maksimov] When Sakharov visited me in Paris, he said: "This business regarding Nagorno-Karabakh should have been taken care of ahead of time, but now it's too late." But I did not agree with him; these prerequisite categories do not work in politics. I told him: "Andrey Dmitriyevich, this proves nothing; whether earlier or later, this situation would have remained the same." The situation is at an impasse. More correctly stated, there is one way out: these peoples should sit down around a negotiating table. But they do not want to sit and will not sit. It's what I call the "Lebanonization of consciousness." Remember how things began there: at first it was Christians against Moslems—then everybody against everybody. An entire generation of people has grown up which knows no other life; they have grown up amid explosions and with automatic weapons in their hands. And nobody remembers any longer how it all began.

[Vasilyeva] As a counterweight to the "separatist" attitudes in our country, one can also hear conversations to the effect that Russia would get along very well even without the Union republics. To your way of thinking, is there some common sense in such talk; is it a sober assessment of the situation?

[Maksimov] Unless we manage to put a stop to "nationalist-type divorces," and unless a miracle happens, then—pardon my frankness—it will be the beginning of the end. And the end not only for you but for all of Europe. The disintegration of such an enormous organization as the Soviet Union would affect Europe on the whole, and the Western politicians know this well. Do you think that they would not like to have freedom for the Baltic peoples or the other Union republics? Of

course, they would. But they are acting with restraint toward these processes. Nobody is in any particular hurry to assist Lithuania. What they fear is destabilization. Just before my departure from France I was told by a specialist on this matter that the immediate future will witness 2 million refugees from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Where will they go? What will be done with them? Germans are even fleeing from the GDR, although they will all soon be united anyway. In the first place, there's no faith. In the second place, life is too short. People are trying to force events to move like a quick march. And the problem of the Poles has already become a general European problem. I don't know how to get through to people's consciousness, to convince them that it's not so much better over there, that they also have their own problems over there [i.e., in the West].

[Vasilyeva] You're talking about the need for unity among such diverse and enormous human masses as entire nations. But, of course, even in an immeasurably smaller community—such as the Russian emigre community in Western Europe—there are divergent opinions....

[Maksimov] What I say at all meetings is: We have it no better over there; we are also a splinter from that society. KONTINENT is specifically an attempt to unite persons who would otherwise be alienated from each other in the face of a common danger. When this journal was founded, we were united against totalitarianism.

[Vasilyevna] It seems that many of our writers and other cultural figures often, alas!, pour oil on the nationality flames rather than striving to extinguish them. In your opinion, what can they, and should they, do in this matter?

[Maksimov] Forgive each other for all insults, repent, and unite in the face of the general disintegration and destruction.

But here too emotions are gaining the upper hand, and here too we see the same "Lebanonization of consciousness." The causes may be summed up as retroactive. Some persons call others "anti-Semites," others call these [first] persons "Russophobes," and a third group thinks up something else. And all this is a justification of subconscious aggressiveness. If it continues on this way, it could happen that everyone will be buried—both right-wingers and left-wingers. This is what I try to demonstrate at all my meetings here. I have visited the offices of the journals MOSKVA, ZNAMYA, YUNOST, VOPROSY LITERATURY, NOVYY MIR, SOVREMENAYA DRAMATURGIYA, and OKTYABR. I've met with Belov and Rasputin. My friends are Okudzhava, Edlis, and Dementyev—but these are people of a different camp. I am trying to unite all of them, but this is beyond the strength of any one person. Christ himself could not succeed in doing this. Nor am I taking on such a mission myself, but I would like to at least "knock on every door", subconsciously everybody

is ready for such a reconciliation, but someone must be the first to step over the psychological barrier. Various people say: This cannot go on like this, "but nobody has decided to be the first to extend his hand. And around the important persons who are on one side or another there are very many persons who, to put it mildly, are creative "lightweights" and who want to compensate for their creative incompetence by means of a struggle. And it is they who "wind up" the important persons. Persons of average talents are active in such petty intrigues.

[Vasilyeva] Yes, but, after all, you know, some undoubtedly talented writers of ours are also to be found under the banners of the opposing sides. Take, for example, Rasputin, Astafyev, and Belov; their love for Russia and their suffering for it are absolutely sincere and genuine....

[Maksimov] When you listen to a person, you want to believe him. They say that they have been garbled and misinterpreted, that their viewpoint is not such and such, and that they did not mean so and so. I've told them that they need to be very precise in their formulations, all the more so if they are engaged in politics. Politics is a mine-field. If you know that you are being misinterpreted, treat each sentence with enormous care and responsibility. Their speeches are full of pain and suffering when they speak about the dying village. Their emotionality is understandable. Everybody had a hand in this process, but nowadays it is only the Russians who are blamed for laziness and stagnation.

[Vasilyeva] You know, a great deal has gotten mixed up here. Because, after all, the only real zealots for Russia are represented by the members of the "Pamyat" society....

[Maksimov] It is you who have made them so important. They are not sufficiently known, and I see harm in this.

In the West there are very powerful forces of a similar, extreme, right-wing type: in France Le Pen has his deputies in the French and European parliaments; 2.5 or even 3 million Frenchmen vote for them. And they have financial potentials. In Germany 11 percent of the ballots were cast for this type of party. And these forces are attracting "Pamyat," and they have been conducting negotiations with them. Thus, "Pamyat" could become an international force, and for this we must "bow" to our liberal press organs. They have given "Pamyat" such an "advertisement."

[Vasilyeva] But what are you saying—that it would be better to remain silent and pretend that "Pamyat" simply does not exist?

[Maksimov] No. Here one has to act in a different way. To its honor, KONTINENT was the first to catch in the flow of information from the Soviet Union the stenographic report of the conference or meeting of cinematographers where the name of Vasilyev and his speech emerged for the first time. We immediately published the item under the headline: "Warning—Danger!" But year after year goes by; but as soon as I begin to say that



we must proceed to causes, i.e., to who is behind this movement, nobody wants to continue the discussion. Someone has very vaguely pointed to the KGB and the party apparatus. In the first place, I think that neither one is necessary now. In the second place, they certainly have the possibility of assembling some more people at their meetings if they wish to do so, because, you know, they have about 400 persons. But just who is heating all this up?

In the West experienced journalists build up dossiers; you do not have such a practice here. A true journalist must build up his dossier for years. Then an article grows out of it, which makes it a biography. This is a purely Western method, pragmatic, but I would call upon Soviet journalists to investigate the following problem: Who is behind "Pamyat"? In my opinion, its leaders simply do not want to register the organization. This is a clever tactic.

[Vasilyeva] Do you think that they are doing this intentionally?

[Maksimov] In my opinion, it is not they themselves but rather those who are directing them. Their own consciousness is, after all, only at the Neanderthal level.

[Vasilyeva] Doesn't it seem to you that this is a somewhat over-simplified approach—all too often we have "written off" complex problems by declaring that someone is "directing" or "inciting" someone else. And what about Russian nationalism? Doesn't it really exist?

[Maksimov] If.... You know, I myself come from very common people. My father was a peasant who became a worker, and my grandfather was a railroad worker. Prior to my going abroad, I used to visit them often in Uzloye, Tula Oblast and in Novomoskovsk. I never heard any of them mention that they were Russians; they had forgotten who they were. Language for them was a means of social exchange or communication and nothing more. Russian or non-Russian—this is something that reminds one of lumpen-proletariat in beer-halls or bars. Alas, most people in Russia live a vegetable kind of existence; from morning till evening they have other cares and concerns. How can we speak about nationalism here?

And what did the elections indicate? Who came to vote for the "Patriotic Front"? Where is it?

Nationalism is cultivated among the intelligentsia of the first generation. I'm not leveling this charge against all persons who received a higher education in the first generation. But this environment is very fertile for "growing" nationalism. They are not yet well-trained, they are insufficiently qualified or skilled, but they have received an education. They want to make a career, they seek the causes of their own occupational failures in other people: in Jews, for example. But there was never any Russian nationalism in the common people, i.e., in the masses.

In connection with the Demyanyuk case (there is such a case of a former chief guard or warder, who was captured in America, tried and convicted in Israel, and sentenced to death for crimes committed in a concentration camp), I thoroughly studied a mass of documents in order to publish materials about this trial in KONTINENT. I looked through lists of war criminals. Among them there was only one Russian, and he was charged with writing anti-Semitic articles in an Orel occupation newspaper.

What point do I want to emphasize by this? That the Russian masses have never been characterized by nationalism. Let's recall the Beylis case. Russian peasants acquitted him, whereas the French put Dreyfuss in prison. In the Beylis case particular care was taken to select rather illiterate Russian peasants as jurors, but their common sense triumphed and prevailed.

[Vasilyeva] But what if there are troubles which have struck a country? Is not a person guilty if he remains on the sidelines among all the intrigues and machinations? And then, perhaps, each nation does deserve those rulers which it has. What do you think?

[Maksimov] I always answer such a question as follows: "If it has elected them." And didn't the first elections really show this?

In its first free elections the Russian people gave only 24 percent of its vote to the totalitarian party, whereas the freedom-loving Italian people, with all its electoral experience, gives 30 percent of its votes to the totalitarian parties in each election.

[Vasilyev] One last question. Is it true that the journal KONTINENT will be published in the Soviet Union?

[Maksimov] This no longer depends even on the wishes of the Soviet publishers. Such a complex question is being decided by the editorial collegium. Our editorial collegium has some very important persons of world renown who consider that it's still too early for this.

[Vasilyev] And what do you think?

[Maksimov] I want to try to convince them.

#### **'April' All-Union Group Holds Founding Congress**

90UN1806A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 90  
Morning Edition p 6

[Article by V. Malukhin: "Two Days In 'April'"]

#### **[Text] Founding Meeting Held For All-Union Writers' Association**

The writers' movement in support of perestroyka, later renamed "April", announced its birth in Moscow a year ago. The new public organization, uniting many well-known literary workers, became immediately involved in the democratic process and soon won the sympathy of liberal intellectuals. As its membership kept growing,



other ideological and creative writers' associations, supporting or opposing "Aprel", began to appear across the country. The All-Union founding congress of the writers' association, "Aprel", was held in the central house of literary workers in the last days of April.

The very emergence of the "intraregional writers' group", as "Aprel" is called behind the scenes, signified the beginning of the end to the state monopoly of creative freedom. One had to wait for this moment for more than half a century, since free literary workers' associations ceased to exist in 1934, when literature was put in bondage organizationally during the first congress of Soviet writers. But today "Aprel's" status is misleading to a certain extent. Calling for the destruction of the literary and state Carthage, "Aprel" is granted the status of a legal person by the USSR Writers' Union and even some allocations to hold its congress; many of the "Aprel" leaders are members of the Writers' Union leadership at the same time. Depending on one's viewpoint, this can be regarded either as conformism - dictated by the Aprel members desire to preserve the material support provided by the literary fund under the USSR Writers' Union - or as a tactical flexibility which focuses not on the split in the Writers' Union but on its internal reform. To all intents and purposes, "Aprel" is not powerful enough to accomplish a "tender revolution" within the USSR Writers' Union, nor is it weak enough to be ignored. So, the present standoff is expected to be resolved during the 9th congress of the USSR Writers' Union next year.

According to the statutes, adopted at its founding congress, the All-Union writers' association, "Aprel", "seeks to unite all democratic forces in Soviet literature. 'Aprel' is oriented towards a complete freedom of creative quest, competition among creative world outlooks and styles, and towards involvement of Soviet literature in the world literary process. It rules out monopoly by a single creative trend and any government "instructions" in the field of culture. 'Aprel' believes that literature should have only one ban, that on the propaganda of violence and all types of national, religious, or class supremacy... The ideological and political platform of "Aprel" is dictated by the need to further develop and deepen the democratic processes taking place in the country, to ensure the freedom of speech and the press, and for the law norms ensuring individual's social protection... 'Aprel' endorses the efforts made by all Soviet people to revive their national cultures... 'Aprel' censures any trends and manifestations of great-power chauvinism, and nationalism, and any move or action resulting in the fanning out of ethnic enmity..."

The congress discussed the balance between the political and creative aspects of the "Aprel" activities. This has never been an easy thing to do in literature, especially now. It will be recalled that one of the documents adopted by the newly-born "Aprel" last year was a protest to the Czechoslovak government against the victimization of playwright Wacław Havel... "Aprel" sees a threat of "informal" apparatchiks emerging within

its structures, of atomizing its efforts in the literature-related controversies and feuding.

Five co-chairpersons of the association were elected by vote at the end of the second day of the congress (the following people by the number of the votes): Yu. Chernichenko, Ye. Yevtushenko, V. Korotich, A. Pristavkin, and A. Sokolov. They are to become the "duty persons" for "Aprel" over the next three years.

The "Aprel" members were addressed by congress guests. Al. Mikhailov, the head of the Moscow writers' organization, announced a "Fellowship of unaffiliated writers"; one can become its member just by making an oral request. The audience was baffled by the action taken by M. Deutch, their colleague from Radio Liberty, who took the congress rostrum to give his own appraisal of the meeting and, contrary to professional ethics, tried to sway delegates toward sharing his viewpoint regarding the future of "Aprel".

The congress approved a number of resolutions and appeals, including the one declaring it illegal to take any action to strip of Soviet citizenship those compatriots who were forced to leave their homeland because of unjustified political accusations; the one regarding the situation in relation to Lithuania; on the ethnic issue; on the projected sharp increase in the newspaper and magazine prices, planned by the USSR Council of Ministers; on investigation of the incident that happened in the central house of literary workers on January 18, 1990.

Lidiya Korneyvna Chukovskaya became the first winner of the A.D. Sakharov prize, instituted by "Aprel", "For Writer's Civic Courage".

### Political Activity of 'Aprel' Writers Group Viewed

90UN1806B Moscow PRAVDA in Russian

6 May 90 Second Edition p 6

[Article by V. Verin: "'Aprel' Paradoxes"]

[Text] *We are going to see quite a large number of unemployed literary critics soon. When a sign is put up on the central house of literary workers reading: "Literature is closed down, everyone has left for the political front", some critics will have to hustle to receive some kind of unemployment benefit, while others will be urgently retrained - if they have not done this yet - in the related jobs of political scientists, sociologists, and economists.*

### Subjective Notes

This gloomy forecast was not made yesterday. The recent writers' meetings look more and more like rallies which pass increasingly strident resolutions, whose participants sign manifestos and letters, which sound more like a call to join a home guard rather than to open up a discussion; no time is left, as a rule, to discuss literary matters themselves.

Some optimists pinned hopes on the writers' association, "Aprel". Established more than a year ago, this organization was initially called Writers' Movement in Support of Perestroyka, WMSP. It seemed that the letter "L", meaning restructuring in literature, was dropped just by omission. A number of writers of unquestionable talent joined the association over the past year, but it has seen many literary workers known for their social rather than creative work. The statements issued by "Aprel" commanded nothing but respect, as they called for "orientation towards complete freedom of creative quest, competition among any creative styles, and involvement in the world literary process." But it is better to hear once rather than to read ten times now; so I went to attend the "Aprel" All-Union founding congress.

Having spent a total of two daylight days at its sessions, I became convinced that this organization's "involvement in the world literary process" had to wait. And this is probably inevitable today.

The paradox is that whenever I put a simple question to any of its members - "Is your organization literary or political?" - all "Aprel" members answered in unison: "Literary" or "Socio-literary".

Still, I think that "Aprel" is no longer a literary organization, but not a political party yet. This is a political club for writers and people close to literature who hold radical leftist views and who seek an active political struggle. It is a club whose door are flung wide open to the campaigners from different political parties. The congress participants have wide-ranging views, for example, on the role to be played by the CPSU in society. One of the guests said: "We need a sound anti-Communist party", or "We should get rid of Obkoms, while others suggested that "genuine" writers should be elected to the CPSU Congress.

It is boring already to present and analyze extreme political views. Neither the writers nor their guests said anything new and dashing, compared to what one could have heard in Pushkin square.

But this gives rise to another, now exclusively ethical paradox. Hardly three months had passed since 35 Communists affiliated with "Aprel" (they included the writer who suggested taking care of the future of the Obkoms so radically) made an open appeal to bar the "way of self-styled Nazis to power" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 14 February 1990). This letter was addressed neither to the court, nor to the public, but to ...the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee. This means that Communists from "Aprel" acknowledged until recently, first, the right of the party's supreme body to initiate and execute legislation, and secondly, the possibility of exercising this right during the election campaign. It looks like "Aprel"-affiliated Communists are not averse to building a law-governed democratic state in our country. But it should be admitted then that the force of law in such a state should supersede the power of any party. Why did they send their address to

the Politbureau? And what has happened within a short span of time, if the same Communists applaud any vilification of the party, or do not protest it at least?

It appears that the future congress of USSR Writers' union will specify the stand taken by "Aprel" regarding its membership of this creative organization. The association has decided so far to abstain from splitting from a "major" union and seek to have its work restructured without a formal rupture with it. No matter how hard M. Deutch of Radio Liberty urged a split among the literary workers - he called some of them fascists, and the others, the opposite, so to speak - the congress did not sign on the guest's dotted line.

The future will tell how productive the growing political awareness of writers is going to be in the creative sense. As a reader, I feel regret that so many talented people today give preference to a mike and a rostrum, over a pen and a writer's desk.

#### **Ukrainian Orthodox Church Receives Vatican Journalists**

90UN1773A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in  
Ukrainian 14 Apr 90 p 3

[RATAU news item: "Interest in Religious Affairs in the Ukraine"]

[Text] A large group of foreign journalists accredited to the Vatican spent two days in Kiev. This trip by representatives of a number of leading newspapers, magazines, and radio broadcast media from Great Britain, Austria, Venezuela, Italy, Spain, Canada, and the United States was organized by the Ukrainian Catholic Church press service in Rome.

The visitors, who expressed an interest in religious affairs in our republic, were received at the exarchate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. At their request Bishop of Pereyaslav-Khmelnytskyi Ionafan, secretary of the Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, commented on religious situation developments in the Western Ukraine, and also reported initial results achieved by the quadripartite commission formed by the Episcopal Council of the Moscow Patriarchate and Pope John Paul II. In particular, it is tasked with peacefully settling the question of division of churches among the Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholics. Bishop Ionafan briefed the foreign journalists on the declaration by the Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in connection with the unlawful 6 April decision by the Lvov City Soviet of People's Deputies to turn over to the Eastern-Rite Catholics the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of Saint George and the eparchial residence. He stated that the Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church considers this act to be a gross violation of the rights of Russian Orthodox believers and a flouting of Soviet laws and international agreements.

A press conference was held for the foreign journalists on 12 April at the Religious Affairs Council under the

Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. Giving the visitors a briefing on religious affairs in the republic, M. P. Kolesnyk, chairman of the Religious Affairs Council, noted that 3,000 new religious congregations have been formed in the course of the last year and a half alone. Religious literature is being published in large quantity. He stated that religious believers are becoming increasingly more active in community affairs.

Responding to questions about ways to settle the conflict between the Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholics in the Western Ukraine, M. P. Kolesnyk stressed that it is not an easy problem. But a solution will be found if both parties act in a reasonable manner, adhering to the law and displaying a maximum of goodwill. He added that in his opinion the Vatican and the Moscow Patriarchate have found a correct mechanism for settling this issue.

The Vatican-accredited foreign journalists will also be visiting Moscow and Lvov.

### Church on 'Threshold' of Schism

90UN2000A Moscow SOBESDEDNIK in Russian  
No 22, May 90 p 2

[Article by Mikhail Karelov: "On the Threshold of a Schism?"]

[Text] Political Russia has lived a week in expectation of the election of a head of the republic. Orthodox Russia, given hope by the weakening of the heavy palm of authority that converted the church into an appendage of the bureaucratic system, has been wondering about who will occupy the Patriarchal Throne.

No one will take it upon himself to predict the course of events at the 7 June election. Especially after the appearance of two collective messages—"To the Members of the Russian Orthodox Church" and "To the Holy Synod." The persons who signed them include: S. Averintsev, USSR people's deputy and corresponding member of USSR Academy of Sciences; RSFSR people's deputies V. Polosin, G. Yakunin, and V. Aksyuchits; Mossovet people's deputy V. Borshchev; public-affairs commentator A. Nezhnyy...

The authors of the appeal feel that the church has come to a standstill at a crossroads: clerics and lay people, and the Russian Orthodox Church as a whole, will have to provide answers to very important questions that were engendered by the headlong and contradictory development of social and political life. But in order to do this, it must break away from the embrace of the government and the party, and must acquire true independence...

All the questions have come together into a single one: who will steer the church ship? Will the person who will become the Patriarch be a person of irreproachable morality, clear mind, and high bravery?

"Will this message find a response?" I asked publisher Viktor Aksyuchits and priest Vyacheslav Polosin.

[V. A. Aksyuchits] The church is threatened by a schism. Most of the believers understand the unceremonious nature of the atheistic ideology and of the regime which, over the recent decades, carried out a policy of infiltration, or disorganizing, and of "educating" the episcopate. The people who were made bishops were those of who were weak in character or were waning in their way of life, or even frank atheists. Is it possible to carry out a restructuring with the Brezhnev episcopate which has no intention of repenting its sins? The appointment as Locum Tenes of the Patriarchal Throne of Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galitsiya, whose activities in the Ukraine led to the breaking away of a large number of believers, has put the Russian Orthodox Church on the brink of a schism.

[V. Polosin] The Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad has decided to take under its omophorion the parishes that are deserting the higher clergymen who have compromised themselves. The act of accepting three parishes in Suzdal and in Siberia is only the beginning. The situation can become worse if a Patriarch who does not enjoy people's love and respect is elected secretly for a period that does not conform to the standards of the people's piety.

[V. Aksyuchits] The sole possibility for avoiding the schism is to achieve the canonical conducting of a Local Council in the spirit of 1917-1918. And although our voice is the voice of only a few people, we hope that the sense of danger will force others to understand that salvation is in the idea of conducting a Council that unites, rather than splits, the Russian Church. I think that the pressure that the Russian Christian-Democratic Movement (RKhDD) that we have created can exert upon the authority and the hierarchy will promote the removal of the governmental influence upon the church.

### Pros, Cons of Gymnasium Education System

90UN1753A Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA in Russian  
No 18, Apr 90 p 4

[Article by S. Nikonov in Reply to a Reader's Letter: "Hello, Gymnasium!"]

[Text] Dear Editors! In one of the issues of your newspaper I read an article about gymnasiums of the FRG. Would it be possible for you to provide us with some more details about gymnasiums in our own country? What are their entrance requirements?

G.S., Gorkiy Oblast.

The works of classical writers contain no less abusive words about gymnasiums than do those of contemporary journalists about contemporary schools.

Nevertheless, persons who went to gymnasiums later brought glory and honor to our fatherland's science, literature, philosophy, culture.... Gymnasium graduates, as a rule, did not allow themselves to remain seated in the presence of a lady; they knew how to waltz extremely

well; and they were quite fluent in a couple of foreign languages (without a dictionary)....

It is possible that these circumstances played a definite role in the fact that, during the conversations and disputes about the school of the future, the gymnasium began to be mentioned more and more frequently. To be more truthful, what were mentioned were the principles which comprised the foundations of a gymnasium education.

And when the VNIK [expansion unknown] platform appeared, and when the pedagogical congress finally acknowledged the right of schools different from each other to exist, the directors of certain Moscow schools (and not only the Moscow ones) decided to begin speaking about gymnasiums at the tops of their voices.

Yevgeniy Semenovitch Topaler, director of Moscow School 67 probably spoke out concerning this more frequently and more loudly than the others. And so in March 1989 he and several of his colleagues were invited to Gosobrazovaniye [State Committee for Education], where the first official discussion about establishing gymnasiums was held. The idea was accepted with a resounding "Hurrah!" But the "Hurrah!" rang out, and a quietness ensued. April was silent. In May Yevgeniy Semenovitch telephoned the Moscow Committee for Public Education, and there they confirmed that, yes, the decision had been made to open three gymnasiums in this city.

The deputy chairman of Gosobrazovaniye tapped Yevgeniy Semenovitch on the shoulder and called him a "fine fellow." The RSFSR deputy minister of public education sat in the director's office on the edge of his chair and sketched out a summary abstract of the ideas "comprising the foundation." A threesome arrived in two black Volgas from the RSFSR Council of Ministers and also tacitly approved....

While it was still in the idea stage, everything was fine. Everyone was "in favor" of it.

But everyone became unanimously strict and stern when it came to driving a wedge into a living school, to squeezing out those who did not want to study or who were incapable of studying (because, of course, a gymnasium is for those who want to study and have the ability to do so!). At this point the rayon authorities began to get their backs up. The municipal authorities did not approve. And those in high places also became cautious.

They themselves found a solution—they proposed that all their own people take part in the competition as "old boys," and they even created more comfortable conditions for them: if, for example, a candidate failed the competition in physics, he could try his luck in chemistry. (Candidates from the "outside" did not have such privileges).

In this part scandals and complaints were successfully avoided simply by those persons who flunked the competition and transferred to a neighboring school.

And everyone sounded even stricter when it came to a question of money. They all talked in a friendly manner about the deficit in the state budget and about the most stringent system of economics. Documents were issued stating: "Permit!" and "Support!", but not a word about money. Topaler and other gymnasium directors went to see the financial experts. But—alas!—they attentively read the documents and stated the following: "There is nothing said about money here!"

Now, to be sure, these problems are being solved, albeit only partially and albeit "by way of an exception," as they say, "in tiny doses."

When the competition for admission to the gymnasium was announced, Yevgeniy Semenovitch, appearing on the program entitled "Good Evening, Moscow!" tactfully remarked that during the competition the school's telephones would be switched off and that, therefore, it would be useless to call.

One the day of the tests the courtyard of the modest Moscow school looked like the little courtyard in front of the GITIS [State Institute of Theatrical Art imeni A.V. Lunacharskiy] during the first round of the competition for the Acting Department.

But this did not astound the gymnasium school director. What did astound him was that the candidates for admission to the gymnasium—students from many Moscow schools who had "Fives" [A's] in those subjects which they had chosen as their majors—were unable to solve basic problems of average difficulty; they could not answer questions which did not require talent but simply an ordinary, commonplace knowledge gained by study.

Of the numerous students seeking admission, 150 were selected (to the honor of School 67, half of them were their own)]

And so, what is a Moscow-type gymnasium?

Beginning in the 8th grade, there is greater in-depth study of mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, and literature. In addition to this, six hours a week are devoted to studying a foreign language (German or English). Moreover, the students are allowed to elect two courses out of five. The courses are purely of the gymnasium [i.e., "academic"] type: Latin, Old Slavic Language, History of Art, History of Philosophy, History of Religion.

The courses are conducted by specialists having the highest qualifications and skills. The History of Philosophy—by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor Genrietta Ivanovich Ikonnikova, deputy head, Department of Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, the History of Art—by Nadezhda Arsenyevna Leonova, department head, Museum imeni Glinka; Old Slavic Language—by an

alumnus of this school, Andrey Moroz, who is a graduate student at the MGU [Moscow State University], while Latin is taught by his wife Tatyana, who is an instructor at the MGU.

Numerous organizational problems are still being decided. For example, the "Provisional Statute on the Gymnasium" (which, by the way, has not been approved by anyone to this very day) proposed to introduce the position of deputy director, one psychologist for every 15 classrooms, to provide for ten slots for leaders of clubs, sections, scientific societies, "freed-up" grade leaders, and to have 1500 days for lectures, courses, cycles....

They succeeded in "leaving" the position of deputy director and one psychologist for all. A struggle is now being waged for the slots of club leaders. Later.... Later there will again be a struggle—there can be no doubt about that.

"What I fear most of all," says Yevgeniy Semenovitch, "is that the gymnasium will become a sort of mode or fad. How many splendid ideas have become discredited when they have been introduced into life with a bit too much haste. A mania for reports has ruined more than one initiative. A gymnasium is a serious business. It's not just a matter of changing the sign, approving the students, and allocating certain funds. A gymnasium is, above all, a collective of talented teachers, of like-minded persons."

And talent—alas!—is a phenomenon which is not very prevalent.

### **Frunze Gymnasium Compared with General School**

90UN1753B Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 May 90 p 4

Mini-Interview with T. Makarova, director, Frunze Gymnasium, by E. Baybakpayev: "Admission to the Gymnasium by Competition"]

[Text] This republic's first gymnasium has been opened in Frunze. How does it differ from the general school?

"By its depth of instruction," says T. MAKAROVA, the gymnasium director. "Experienced teachers, having been chosen as a result of competition, will offer instruction in such subjects as rhetoric, ethics, aesthetics, as well as acquainting students with the Koran and the Bible. From the fifth grade on, instruction will follow these three lines or tracks: philological, historico-cultural, and natural-scientific. Our graduate will know two foreign languages in addition to Russian and Kirghiz. The gymnasium is a full-day school. During the first half of the day there are lessons, and then sports sections, clubs, and study-halls. The principal task of the new educational institution is to develop the capacities of gifted children. So far the instruction is free...."

[E. Baybakpayev] But what kind of material-technical base does it have?

[T. Makarova] Constructed in accordance with a design by the Kirghiz architect S. Abyshev, the new school measures up to our requirements. Everything is here: halls and a swimming-pool, as well as special offices for clubs and studies, along with two dining-halls.

[E. Baybakpayev] How are admissions to the gymnasium handled?

[T. Makarova] Strictly by competition. With the help of tests for originality of thought, we attempt to discover capable and gifted children.

[E. Baybakpayev] Let's look on ahead. A student graduates from the gymnasium.... What then?

[T. Makarova] The final exams for graduation will be transmitted to a commission, which will include faculty members from this republic's central VUZ's. The marks received at the gymnasium will be taken into account when admissions to institutes and universities are decided upon.